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# THE CANADIAN FORUM

Twenty-Sixth Year of Issue

April, 1946



## Open Letter on Controls to C. L. Burton



## Challenge to Reformism

E. A. BEDER



## Is Labor Unity Possible?

MURRAY COTTERILL



Fabians and Fabianism

PART II

FRANK H. UNDERHILL

Radio Crossroads, 1932

R. B. TOLBRIDGE

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Vol. XXVI, No. 303

Toronto, Ontario, April, 1946

Twenty-five Cents

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## THE CANADIAN FORUM

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## O CANADA

The financial prize offered recently by Hon. Russell T. Kelley . . . Ontario's new minister of health, for a new all-Canadian song, has been "upped" by an extra \$100 by Graham Bertram of Dundas, Ont. In his search for the song of Canada, Mr. Kelley asks those who submit entries to include the words "Canada" and "God." These are musts, and no score will be considered unless these conditions are complied with. (Victoria Daily Times)

Annapolis Royal, N.S., March 9—Members of Fort Anne Chapter IODE have passed a resolution not to cut the crusts off bread used in sandwiches until the world food situation is better. (Toronto Telegram)

The smart thing for Canadians to have done . . . would have been to build homes some years before the war, when very little building was going on in the country.

(Fred Whitman, M.P., quoted in Montreal Standard)

"On a Saturday morning in the fall of 1909, Malloch asked me how I thought Varsity would make out against Ottawa Roughriders that afternoon. We were playing for the championship. I said I thought we could win. 'If you score three touchdowns this afternoon,' Malloch said, 'I'll give you 100 marks in surgery.' Well, sir, in the last minute I scored my third touchdown and we beat Ottawa 31 to 7.

"When the final exams were over in the spring, I went up to the late Miss Armour, who was then secretary of the medical school, and asked her how I had done. . . . She said: 'You did awfully well in surgery. You headed the year.' I knew then that Malloch had kept his promise." (Dr. Smirle Lawson, quoted in the Toronto Star)

We must stimulate our production for the world market, develop our natural resources and encourage subsidiary industries. And with the potential wealth and resources which still remain in this country, I feel optimistic enough to suggest that Canada should be able to find jobs for every man and woman who wants one. There is something radically wrong if she can't.

(Nancy Hodges, in the Victoria Daily Times)

If Mr. Philpott or anybody else wants to assail Mr. Churchill or voice pro-Soviet sympathies, he is free to hire a hall. . . . Certainly we think it intolerable that Canadians should be maintaining a national radio system—maintaining it by license fees and taxes for its capital expenditures—for the benefit of somebody who wants to assail a British statesman like Mr. Churchill or to air his personal ideological prejudices. That sort of thing isn't free speech; it is plain folly.

(Ottawa Journal)

Ottawa, March 20—Prime Minister Mackenzie King should be chairman of the coming peace conference, Phileas Cote (Lib., Matapedia-Matane), urged yesterday in the House of Commons. He said Mr. King is the "greatest statesman in the world." . . . Canada's social security program already "has put Canada on its way toward a great destiny because our social legislation is the most advanced in the world today."

(Toronto Star)

The doubter, if he will use his eyes, will see at once the demonstrable fact that World War II stands as one vindication of capitalism.

(Wellington Jeffers, in the Globe and Mail)

With Con. Smith dissenting, a motion . . . was passed, authorizing sending a telegram to Mr. Churchill. . . . The telegram stated: "Your clarion call to the peace-loving democratic countries of the world to stand together, in order to show strength and maintain our peaceful democratic institutions, meets with the wholehearted endorsement of the Board of Control of the City of Toronto. May you live many years to see the fulfillment of your ambitions and to bring peace and security to all mankind."

(Globe and Mail)

Union leaders base their arguments for compulsory membership of workers on the plea that non-union workers are hitch-hikers, people who get a free ride, enjoying the benefits won by union members who fight the fight and put up the money therefor. But in every other group activity, the individual still is privileged to join or not to join. Christianity, for instance, is generally conceded to have conferred benefits to all, but probably 30 per cent. of the people of Canada don't contribute to the support of the church of which they are nominal members.

(The Printed Word)

His Excellency, the Earl of Athlone . . . signs his name in the visitor's book at City Hall, while Mayor Robert Saunders looks on. His Excellency's name appears on the same page as that of Gen. Dwight Eisenhower. (Caption under picture, Globe and Mail)

This month's prize of six months' subscription goes to J. D. Grant, Fredericton, N.B. All contributions should contain original clipping, date and name of publication.

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# THE CANADIAN FORUM

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## The Big Three

By the time these words appear the Security Council of the United Nations will be meeting again in New York, and it will enter upon its business in the midst of a much more critical situation than faced it at the first meeting in London. At that first meeting Russia diverted attention from her own deeds beyond her frontiers by a vigorous attack upon British actions in Greece and Indonesia. Now that she has broken specific and definite treaty obligations in Iran, and probably also in Manchuria, she will find that she needs more than Mr. Prosecutor Vishinsky's best forensic efforts to justify her.

It seems clear that the Soviet authorities are determined to break up the British imperial position in the Mediterranean and the Middle East by striking now when Britain is at her weakest, before her economy has recovered from the dislocations of war and before her Labor government is settled into office. If Russia strikes now successfully she can do irreparable damage both to the British Empire (which has always stood to the Stalinites as the chief champion of capitalism) and to Social Democracy both in Britain and all over western Europe. Never was such an opportunity presented to the Communist leaders of killing two birds with one stone.

Also it seems clear, from talk in the United States about "mediation" between the British and the Russians, that the Americans are going to confine themselves pretty much to noble words. "Mediation" comes very close to meaning what "isolation" meant before 1939. But the Americans have never been isolationist or mediationist about the Far East. It looks to us as if Stalin, by challenging them in Manchuria at the same time that he challenges Britain in the Middle East, was showing signs of being over-intoxicated with victory.

## Churchill and Russia

In his speech at Fulton, Mr. Churchill proposed or seemed to propose a military alliance between Great Britain and the United States. This was at once rejected by all groups of Americans, pro-British and anti-British, liberals and conservatives. Mr. Churchill apparently failed to realize that the United States is no longer headed by a Groton and Harvard man, and that filial piety toward the British motherland is no longer part of the American mood. All Americans are agreed that they are not going to commit themselves to saving the British Empire, however friendly may be their feelings toward Great Britain. In his Waldorf-Astoria speech, Mr. Churchill therefore denied that he had proposed an alliance, though what he is thinking of is obviously something that the non-English-speaking world would find it hard to distinguish from an alliance. He tried to soften criticism by roaring like any sucking dove.

The essential feature of an alliance is that it is *against* somebody, and this was in fact the central theme of Mr. Churchill's Fulton speech. By talking of a union of British and American power he was clearly saying goodbye to the United Nations Organization as an effective instrument for keeping the peace. Now he is paying the proper lip-service again to the UNO. But the fact is that Mr. Churchill has never shown much real belief in international organization as

such. He became enthusiastic for the League of Nations only in the 1930's when he saw the chance of using it as an alliance against Germany. He is reverting to type now in his attitude toward the UNO.

He is reverting to type also in his fervor against Russia. After the Russian Revolution in 1917, it was Winston Churchill who was most determined of all British or French statesmen in intervening to defeat it, and he was the most violent of all responsible leaders in his abusive language against Bolshevism. It must be admitted that Russia has given plenty of provocation for this kind of attitude by her actions during recent weeks, and if Russian foreign policy continues along its present lines we shall all sooner or later be echoing Mr. Churchill's words, just as everybody eventually came round to follow his lead against Hitlerian Germany in the late 1930's. But we cannot yet give up hope that there must be in Moscow and London and Washington some statesmen who are capable of the constructive imagination needed to break through the vicious circle in which the three great powers are now entangled and to give a real lead for peace. We do not need any more Churchills until it is certain that another war is really coming.

## The Spy Business

A month after the publication of the first news of the Russian spy scare in Ottawa we still do not know what the evidence is against the men and women who have been imprisoned and denied access to lawyers and friends during most of the time. All we know is what the general charges of the government against them are. It is preposterous for the government to claim that the business is so tremendously serious as to justify this startling departure from the methods of British justice for so prolonged a period. If the police agents in charge of the government case were anybody else but the R.C.M.P., public opinion might be willing to give the government the benefit of the doubt. But the psychopathic addiction of the Ottawa headquarters of the R.C.M.P. to anti-communist mania is so notorious that any statements from them are suspect until they have been tested and proved in the courts. Instead of being so tested by public judicial procedure, the police have been producing their evidence to a secret tribunal.

So far the procedure at Ottawa has been exactly parallel to the course of Russian justice during the famous purge of the Trotskyites and the Generals during the 1930's. Accused men are secreted by the government, subjected to prolonged private examinations in which they have no assistance from counsel, and then, when the government has built up its case, they are brought to public trial, with doubtless a mass of evidence and confessions accumulated in this way against them. We do not know yet who in the Justice Department is going to function as the Vishinsky of these trials. The parallel with Moscow will be complete if some of the accused confess their guilt in long rhetorical speeches, and, beating their breasts in an agony of remorse, burst into paeans of praise for Father King who has saved his country from themselves and other fellow-traitors. But in the meantime we hope that members of parliament from all the opposition parties will unite to press the government back into the paths of British procedure.

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## Courageous Voice

A chaplet of immortelles to the unnamed American colonel who recently issued to his troops in Germany what the *New York Times* correspondent calls "one of the sharpest orders ever issued to a United States occupying unit." The order was occasioned by evidence that the men were allowing themselves to be influenced by German frauleins' anti-Russian opinions, a trend which had been noticeably accelerated by the publication of Winston Churchill's speech at Fulton.

"The Soviet Government is an ally of the United States of America, and you are individually and collectively representatives of our Government," declared this doughty Texan officer, who explained he was "not a 'pinko,' but a Conservative Southern Democrat." "Millions of Russian soldiers and civilians died to save our skins; just remember that," he proceeded to point out. "If propaganda causes you to hate Russians, stop and think. They died for you, too. If you want to fight again, encouraging these frauleins that we hate Russia is a good way to get things going. An ancestor of my name was killed in the war of the American revolution. But the Russians are our Allies. They have guts. They kept hordes of Jerries off us; and, by God, I never want to fight again. Think it over."

Presumably, the gallant colonel was blissfully unaware of how little the actions of the newspaper press back home in North America accorded with the spirit of his directive. Scare headlines, based on any rumor, half-truth or speculation that could foment misunderstanding and hatred between Russia and her late allies were the daily fare of his fellow Americans while he was thus sternly addressing his troops. It is heartening, in the face of this dismal spectacle, to know that at least one man had the courage to use his voice and his authority in the cause of sanity and international goodwill.

## Thrills of Capitalism

Gladstone Murray, that high priest of venture capital and "responsible" enterprise, who for many months has been doing his keynoting in the modest obscurity of capitalist sanctuaries rather than in public, emerged recently from behind the veils to give the Canadian Association of Contracting Painters and Decorators a recipe for defeating socialism and renewing confidence in the sadly tarnished capitalist paradise.

"We cannot compete permanently with socialism or communism," he told the knights of the brush and paint pot, "until we make it possible for most citizens to call themselves capitalists and be proud of it." Enable all (or most) Canadians to share in the gay, adventurous, freebooting life of the capitalist, he declared, and they will cease to yearn for the dull monotony of slaving for a living and become enthusiastic supporters of Freedom and Enterprise. "In working for a set wage," he declared, "there is nothing to look forward to. Where is the adventure or excitement in that? Without a chance to reap more from the profit system than a set wage or salary—somewhat precarious at that—many citizens are in much the same position as the pack mule that accompanied the old-time prospector, sure only of his night's rest and rations while the job was on." How true!

And yet we venture to predict that once the New Capitalist, with his ten shares of Consolidated Steel Nuts, has experienced the wildly exciting adventure of trying to raise his voice at the annual shareholders' meeting, he will begin to feel more like a pack mule than ever, and will wonder if the risking of part of his hard earned savings in ventures over

which he hasn't the slightest control is really as satisfying and glamorous a substitute for a decent wage and social security as Mr. Murray would have him believe.

## Romance and Reality

Though you may not have known it, Canada now has a Mining Day, initiated by the Prospectors and Developers' Association to draw attention to the importance of mining in our economy. The announcement led Toronto's great mining organ, *The Globe and Mail*, to empty another of its periodical panegyrics on the head of that forgotten man, the mining prospector, to whom, in a manner of speaking, both *The Globe and Mail* and the William H. Wright Building may be said to owe their existence.

"Far too little recognition has been paid to the prospectors, those lonely and adventurous souls who cut their way through the trackless wilderness in search of the scant traces of the mineral wealth below the surface," ran the *G. & M.*'s purple apostrophe. "They are in a very real sense amateur scientists, wresting from nature the secrets of the earth. The unwritten record of prospecting is filled with the very stuff of romance and adventure."

The same issue of *The Globe and Mail*, however, contained a report of preparations by the International Union of Mine, Mill and Smelter Workers (CCL-CIO) to wrest from their employers the secret of why such scant traces of the minted mineral wealth they have helped to amass for said employers is to be found in their pay envelopes. Apparently they would be willing to forego any of the "stuff of romance and adventure" they may encounter in their daily toil if they could have a little more of the harder coin. The union even invited the managements of the mining companies to be represented at its conference and present their views on wage questions. But in Toronto mining circles, said *The Globe and Mail*, "it was learned that there would be no general response to the invitation. Mining men stated that they regard present labor relations in the base metal industry as satisfactory. . . . One mine official . . . said that one of the dangers arising out of the union demands might be the shutting down of many marginal mines. Adoption of the union demands would greatly increase costs, he said."

The union is proposing a 40-hour week, a minimum of \$1.10 an hour for miners with comparable increases for other types of labor, a guaranteed minimum of 1900 hours work each year, two weeks vacation with pay and double time for statutory holidays, sick leave pay up to two weeks a year, cumulative to 90 days, guarantees of off-shift bonuses and overtime pay, and union security. It maintains that P.C. 9384, the federal wage control order, if invoked, would entail delays of from eight months to a year in dealing with the union's demands. A spokesman said that the program would be adjusted to take account of each company's ability to pay, and he did not foresee the granting of the union's demands necessitating the closing of any mines.

Very unromantic, these miners! Unlike the prospectors, they get no panegyric in *The Globe and Mail's* editorial columns.



# An Open Letter on Controls to C. L. Burton

Dear Mr. Burton:

In the March *Toronto Board of Trade Journal*, you make an eloquent plea for the immediate lifting of price and wage controls. Your article has been widely and approvingly quoted in the press of Canada.

"There is only one natural and proper way to safeguard our present standard of living, and even improve it," you say, "that is, by maximum employment, only possible under full industrial production."

With that statement we are in hearty agreement. Need for fuller production is illustrated by National Employment Service figures showing that at February 28 there were 263,000 unplaced applicants for work in Canada (with more service men returning all the time), though during the month the weekly *increase* of jobless fell from 10,000 to 4,000.

You also say: "The consumer is well aware that goods offered for sale at the present time are in much smaller variety than that available in pre-war days. The fact is that, with the spring of 1946 at hand, Canada still finds itself woefully short of many lines of consumer goods."

That is undeniably true, and we, like you, regret it. As head of a great merchandising firm, you are naturally desirous that the Robert Simpson Company should have more merchandise to sell; and we, as customers of the Robert Simpson Company, are only too anxious to buy. Take shirts, which we have tried vainly to purchase in your store for these many months; you would be dismayed at the condition of our few remaining shirts.

But as to your proposed remedy—the immediate lifting of government controls—we are not so sure.

You go on to say: "Unless present costs, including somewhat higher wages, are covered by new sales prices, the result will be smaller and smaller 'take home pay' for our workers which no 'rate increase' can recover."

But do you think, on the other hand, that if these controls are removed, there is any danger that prices might creep up rather faster than wages, with disastrous consequences to the worker's 'take home pay'? We have known that to happen, in the days before controls.

You say: "Restriction of production, due to controls, will inevitably increase unit costs, whereas even if wages and prices were temporarily to go higher with the increase of controls, the more abundant production would quickly bring unit costs down."

But are controls really making it impossible for industrialists to expand production? You admit that more abundant production would quickly bring unit costs down. Then why not get going? It was always our impression that the Robert Simpson Company, for instance, had grown great on the principle of low unit profits and large turnover. And of course, you have always paid good wages. It could scarcely have been the desire for better wages that led your employees in recent years to seek (without much encouragement from the company, to be sure) to organize a union.

Is it possible that our industrialists are reluctant to trust to the cost-reducing effect of mass production, about which they used to talk so much, and are really holding out for higher prices and higher unit profits on a small turnover in the immediate future?

You say: "Competition would ensure that the public would not be mulcted for any unreasonable aggregate higher costs of living, even if in a short period of adjustment some lines of goods might be advanced in price."

We are not sure what you mean by "unreasonable" and "short." We do not like to think of the public being "mulcted" to any extent, however reasonable, or for any period, however short. But are you quite sure the "adjustment period" during which the public might be "mulcted" on "aggregate higher costs of living" would really be so short? We have heard much about the virtues of competition in bringing down prices. But we have also heard about and experienced the effect of price agreements which, while of course not legal, have been known to exist between powerful "competitors," accompanied by rather effective measures to freeze out any less powerful firms who tried to bring prices down. In any event, our experience is that, in our modern business world, competition operates fairly slowly to reduce prices.

We think you might have made out a rather good case for lifting the controls on wages; for you will recall that when the controls on wages were instituted during the war, thousands of wage earners had their pay "frozen" at a level very near, if not below, the subsistence level. They accepted the situation in the cause of a "total war," and didn't raise nearly as much hullabaloo about it as many industrialists did about controls on prices and profits. As a matter of fact, our industrialists didn't do so badly, despite all the controls, in respect of profits.

It seems to us that if there is to be a "short period of adjustment" during which someone is going to be "mulcted," it might be fair to do the mulcting on profits, rather than wages. Especially in view of the ultimate increase in profits that could be expected from the lowering of costs due to greatly increased production after the "short period of adjustment," it might not be unfair to ask the large shareholders to take a little cut. They can't be *all* widows and orphans—and something special might be done for the latter.

Your tribute to controls in wartime sounds to us a little grudging. You say: "Controls were universally accepted in wartime. Their administration was successful during war, having the full support of both government and business, as well as general acceptance by the public. True, the introduction and maintenance of controls were accompanied by no small measure of publicity and various programs of pro-



paganda, but on the whole the wartime administrators and controllers did a good job."

We don't understand your apparently slighting reference to "programs of propaganda." When it appears in commercial advertisements, propaganda is usually spoken of by the advertisers as "education." But we do think you underrate the magnificent results achieved through wartime controls in preventing inflation and, coupled with rationing of some commodities, in making sure that ordinary citizens were able to purchase their fair share of consumer goods in short supply.

You say: "Fear has been expressed that the removal of controls now might lead to serious inflation. One needs only to know of conditions in occupied and defeated countries after the 1914-18 war, and again after the second World War, to realize what havoc and distress can be brought about by inflation. However, the situation causing these conditions does not apply to and is not present in Canada. In Europe currencies were so multiplied that the inevitable result was loss of confidence in their value."

We do not quite get the point of your argument here. We had not known that inflation was the result of "loss of confidence" in currencies; we had assumed it to be rather the actual decrease in value. But it is certain that, with price and wage controls lifted in Canada, if prices begin to rise too sharply, labor is going to fight, and fight hard, to recoup the loss in its real wages; and a continuation of this process produces an inflationary spiral.

If you could offer us some convincing assurance that industry would not take advantage of vanished price ceilings to squeeze more profits out of the public by price increases while resisting all attempts by labor organizations to recover their losses, we would say "go ahead and God bless you." But past experience makes us doubtful.

To be plain, we have a nasty suspicion that industry is hanging back, delaying full production and employment, in the hope that the government can be persuaded or bludgeoned into abolishing price ceilings and thus enabling industry to "make a killing" out of the backlog of consumer purchasing power created by bond purchases during the war. In other words, we believe that industry is taking a short rather than a long view of its own interests.

And rather than see that happen, with the attendant evils we have mentioned, we believe the government would be wise to go slow in lifting price controls.

THE EDITORS.

### *The Lost Ecstasies*

Each of us was but the casual planting  
of a man in uniform; we were cast adrift  
in time and space, modern bacchantes who  
carried a thyrsus that was not a thyrsus  
tipped with a pine-coned ornament,  
but a long gun with a sharp bayonet,  
and the bacchanal was but a drunken debauch  
of powerful Titans  
and this was the time and that was the place  
halfway between the stars and that foxhole,  
halfway between hope and despair and life and death  
and my mind catapulted time into space,  
despair into hope, death into life,  
while the tidal imminence of disaster  
immersed excited figures who sought refuge  
in unexploded sanctuaries  
from bombs and shells always confounding  
the lost ecstasies.

Clem Graham.

## The Challenge to Social Reformism

E. A. Beder

► THE TWO MAJOR antagonists of the British Labor government are the Soviet Union and the United States. This would constitute a formidable combination and one of sufficient weight to wreck any government, but at this stage there is no joint action between the two great powers, no concerted pressure; rather than antagonism of each toward Britain is offset in no small degree by the specific antagonisms of America and Russia toward each other. Balanced precariously between these rivalries, the British Labor government seeks desperately to maintain the imperial interests of the British Empire whilst at the same time it endeavors to initiate the social reforms, promise of which was the basis of its electoral victory. On the one hand are the promises, on the other the realities of the existing situation.

The going is rough, and many are inclined to view sympathetically the difficulties of the Attlee government and to look upon the postwar world disorder as a piece of bad luck for the British Labor party, which was so ready to proceed with its gradualist policy of social reform and national independence for colonial peoples. Actually, the colonial difficulties and the hostility of the Soviet Union and the United States are not accidental or unrelated events. They arise and they have their being, in part measure certainly, in the very emergence of the British Labor government. Just because the Labor Party took over the reins, these antagonisms have appeared. And further, what is actually being challenged is not the Labor government itself, as a cabinet, as a collection of department heads who may or may not be fit for the duties entrusted to them. The challenge is directed to what this group represents, the whole concept of social reformism. There is a Left and a Right attack upon the theory, and it is being pressed home with sharpness and skill from the one side, and with a confused slyness from the other.

The Bevin-Vishinsky debate was a colorful event for the world press, and it gave a touch of excitement and vigor to the UNO assembly in London; but the leading figures were animated by more than a sense of publicity values or press agent astuteness. It brought into the open the ferocity of the Russian attitude toward social reformism as exemplified by the British Labor party, and it showed, too, the peculiar nature of the Russian hostility, which was based not on the British program but on the position. That is to say, this was not a clash between Marxism and social reformism, but between Russian imperialism and British imperialism. Nevertheless the old connotations still inhere by virtue of the dual role that both parties in the dispute are playing.

Stalin still clings to the Bolshevik halo, although his conquests are scarcely distinguishable from the so-recently damned aggressors, and the Attlee government proceeds upon the old imperialist course under the banner of social reformism. In the realm of ideology there might have been no conflict today, for throughout the continent Stalin has shown himself as being amenable to working with or through socialist parties; but in the realm of bases, lifelines of empire, and the prerequisites of power, Russia has abandoned all sense of amenity. Thus the British Labor party finds itself forced to spring at once to the defense of British imperial interests, whilst at the same time the very nature of this defense blackens the fabric of its political faith, emphasizing the whole character of social reformism. The contradiction between ideology and empire is made manifest, and sets in

motion the colonial peoples who are forced to turn upon their theoretical saviors.

The United States attack upon the British Labor government is carried on in much softer tones, and suffers from the vagueness, and indeed the confusion, that has been part of American foreign policy since the first World War. An insular people suddenly made a dominant world power, it is not astonishing that they have not been able to adjust themselves speedily to their new riches and outlook. In slightly less liberal parlance, American big capital is not so homogeneous a group as British capitalism in Britain's heyday. As American industry, it was concerned with the home market. It had no visions of being "the workshop of the world," and through its home market it developed an amazing power in production and extension of capital. Now, somewhat uneasily, it sees the world as its oyster; one section of its leading capitalists wants to exploit this to the full, while others, with their eyes upon the home market that made them great, oppose the measures and concessions that a free or freer trade policy requires. In the meantime, all sections note with the utmost misgivings, not to say hostility, the emergence of a Labor government in Britain with a program of nationalization of key industries and — ultimate horror — socialism itself.

Thus the policy of the United States is to weaken "the socialists" at every turn, whilst at the same time giving them support *vis à vis* the Soviet Union when the question has a bearing and a benefit for the Americans. This is a rather delicate instrument to play, for the United States blows hot and cold upon the Russians, depending, it would appear, upon what the national columnists and broadcasters have to say at breakfast and supper time, and also, if the truth be told, upon the shifting perspectives of big capital as it estimates not only the Russian danger but the dangers of a too weak or too fully restored Labor Britain. (Ah, if only Churchill could be brought back to power — even as the head of a new coalition!) The result is a tenuous and variegated hostility upon the part of the United States toward the Labor government, which shifts from day to day and provides the slenderest sort of support in the diplomatic world.

But if the United States support is tenuous and shifting, the demands upon Britain are concrete and formidable enough. There is doubt whether a loan will be made, but there is no doubt upon the conditions of this loan; they are expressed only too clearly. The sterling bloc must be liquidated, British Empire preference must be revised in favor of the United States, and a whole set of conditions are attached to the loan, much as the rules to be found on the back of a pawnbroker's ticket. These are all practical propositions, and reveal at bottom the shifting dominance of big capital and its relationship to world power. The Labor government, being a government and having made its choice, must enter into such propositions. But note how these practical tasks impinge upon the ideology of social reformism.

The British Labor party came into office with a program of increased social services and security for the masses, restoration of peacetime industry, and a gradualist socialist perspective. This whole program may be classified as existing wholly in the realm of goodwill or well-meaning, for there was no economic basis for the distant socialism, no thought of formulating one. Moreover, as events proved, there was no economic basis for the immediate tasks either.

The result was that the Labor government could only attempt to solve the difficulties that faced it by resorting to what is now an old familiar course: the restoration of capitalist economy at home, with all sorts of government schemes and aids to private enterprise to get it going and restore its world position. And the Labor government's first act abroad

in the new "socialist" order was to put itself in hock with the leading capitalist power and to undertake a certain course of action which was detrimental to the interests of its own capitalists whose help was now essential. It not only got off on the wrong foot, like the girl in the play; it also took the wrong turning. An economic base for socialism can never be created by dependence upon a leading capitalist power; it is obvious the head rests in the lion's mouth too completely. Nor can it be developed by reviving big business at home, for when the time comes to buy the latter out with the usual guaranteed 3% government bonds, even the socialized Bank of England is going to sag at the amount required.

It may be said that these criticisms are undeserved, as well as other denunciations that have been showered upon the Labor party, such as the use of armed power against the Javanese nationalists or continuation of the austerity program at home (there is no lack of material to belabor the laborites). It may be contended that their program or expectations were torn to pieces by the problems of the day which piled in upon them, that they faced the difficulties that face all governments, the overall crisis of our civilization. It is not the Labor party's goodwill that is lacking, its defenders may well point out; it is simply that the times are out of joint.

This is precisely the point that demands some examination, for in all the programs of social reform which constitute the basis of all social democratic parties there appears to be no understanding or condition that the promised reforms will be carried out only "if the times are right." These political parties present themselves to the masses as the initiators of a new social order which will come into being in a peaceful parliamentary manner as soon as they are elected to office. No hint is given that ill-luck or crisis could interfere with the carrying out of such plans or programs. It always comes as a profound shock to social democratic leaders that a crisis appears or develops as soon as they assume office; yet it is only in periods of crisis or profound social and economic disturbance that social democratic parties get elected at all. In fact, as long experience has shown, one could develop the political axiom, "it's always crisis for labor governments."

Under these given conditions, which are certainly not coincidental but cover the whole period of social democratic history, isn't it time that some consideration was given to this conjuncture of crisis and government in the party philosophy, and through this philosophy to the social and economic measures the party intends to apply when it becomes the government? If Fabianism is a myth, then how many more missed opportunities must go by before it is so recognized? The Fabians never considered the economic basis for a socialist Britain; their gradualism could permit them to put the main question off into the future, whilst they, excellent fellows every one of them, could gratify their intense pre-occupation with social welfare. It is unfortunate that experience has demonstrated that socialism must come before social welfare can really be introduced.

The essence of social democratic failure and the main cause of the difficulties that enmesh it when it takes office is its gradualist approach to the task of socialization. Whatever excuses it may produce, and whatever the reasons that prompt its cautious approach, examination will show that quick action toward the socialist goal would always have produced the better results. For then the right road would have been travelled whatever the difficulties, whereas every "safe and sane" social democratic party has been thrown off the track despite its "safe and sane" approach.

Of course, it may be said that the whole theory of social reformism is to proceed gradually and cautiously to the distant socialism; that is the essence of its philosophy, and

it is futile to demand a change in this outlook. But it can be said also that this is the sure guarantee of failure, and that a new party or a new program will be an inevitable outcome.

The challenge to social reformism today arises from many sides, and sets new political currents in motion. There is first of all the effect that social democratic parties produce on their own followers when developments occur contrary to their hopes and expectations. Then there is the challenge from Left and Right, foreign as well as domestic, which arises out of the emergence of a Labor government. All this puts the party on the spot and makes its very existence dependent upon a correct program rather than upon its good intentions.

The central theory of social reformism based upon a belief that it can go its own way, peacefully and gradually transforming the economy into its own image, is seen to be only a dream. The world it lives in will not permit such tranquillity, such a leisurely approach. Moreover, the whole tempo of world disturbance grows with each cycle, with each delay in the transformation of society. Speed becomes of the essence, and social reformism offers only gradualism. Is such a program adequate? In Britain the answer is being given at the present time, and the fate of the Labor Party depends upon it.

## Fabians and Fabianism

*Frank H. Underhill*

### PART II.

► WHAT GAVE the Fabians\* their great opportunity was the fact that the decade of the 1880's which saw the rise of these little socialist societies, mostly middle-class in origin, was marked also by an outburst of a new militant spirit among British trade unionists. An era of expansion and advance began. Trade unionism was carried from the ranks of the highly-paid skilled craftsmen to the masses of the unskilled unorganized workers. In 1888 came the strike of the London match girls, led by Mrs. Besant who in 1889 was to appear as one of the authors of the *Fabian Essays*. In 1889 itself came the world-famous London dock strike. The leaders of the "New Unionism" were mostly young men who had been converted to socialism some time in the 1880's. They began to preach that labor must become active not only on the industrial front but in politics as well, and that trade unionists should break away from their support of the Liberal party and form a political party of their own. They began to move resolutions to this effect in the Trade Union Congress.

In 1893 a group of these men formed the Independent Labor Party and chose the Scots miner, Keir Hardie, as their first leader. The conference at Bradford which launched the I.L.P. had Fabian delegates in attendance. Shaw says that he and Keir Hardie drafted the first I.L.P. program as they sat together on the stairs outside the meeting-hall. The I.L.P. called itself a Labor party, not a Socialist party, but it adopted a full socialist statement of its aims. Most important of all, it combined with this setting up of an ultimate socialist goal an immediate program of social reforms to better the conditions of the working classes. Its socialism therefore from the start took the Fabian form: an accumulation of social reforms was eventually to add up to socialism. From the

1890's to the present it has been clear that this is the only approach to socialism which has any chance of attracting the English mind.

By means of the I.L.P. the Fabians achieved contact with the masses of organized labor. As a matter of fact it was not through reading either Fabian or Marxian arguments that Keir Hardie and most of his fellow I.L.P. leaders were converted to socialism; it was through reading the Bible. And I.L.P. orators brought to the socialist cause an evangelistic emotional appeal which the Fabians lacked. Philip Snowden, who made his name in these years as one of the most effective I.L.P. propagandists, tells of one of his supporters urging him, when coming to the close of a speech, to "put a touch of 'Come to Jesus' in it." The Fabians did not go in for the Come-to-Jesus technique. They were intellectuals, not evangelists. But they supplied the I.L.P. with clear theoretical analysis, with a mass of facts and statistics, and with well-drafted concrete legislative proposals. The Fabian-I.L.P. combination proved a perfect instrument for bringing about a new political movement.

In 1899, after more than ten years of effort, the socialists at last persuaded the Trade Union Congress to pass a resolution to set up a committee to lay plans for independent labor representation in parliament. The Labor Representation Committee, which held its first meetings early in 1900, had delegates on it from the socialist societies — the I.L.P., the Social Democratic Federation and the Fabians — as well as from the Trade Unions; in fact the little socialist societies who only had a few thousand members were deliberately over-represented as against the Unions with their hundreds of thousands. As usual, Shaw was the chief Fabian delegate. Fabian influence and I.L.P. influence, which was Fabian influence at one remove, were effective in preventing the new movement from strangling itself at birth by adopting a rigid Marxian program or ideology. Ramsay MacDonald, who had been a member of the Fabian executive and who was also a leading I.L.P. spokesman, was chosen as the first secretary of the L.R.C. Very soon the S.D.F. seceded in disgust. And the L.R.C., which in 1906 took the name of the Labor Party, was in effect until 1914 a social reform rather than a socialist party.

After the Liberals came back to office in 1905 with a program of advanced social reforms, the new Labor Party found it difficult to do very much more in parliament than give a general support to Liberal measures. Most of the Labor members indeed would not have been in parliament at all had not MacDonald made skilful arrangements with the Liberal machine, by which Labor candidates ran in certain working-class constituencies without meeting Liberal opposition, and Liberals were left free in other places to defeat the Tories without being embarrassed by a third Labor candidate. Quite a few of the more radical Labor supporters were objecting strongly by 1914 to this close Liberal-Labor entente, and the objectors included some of the Fabians. It was at this time that young Mr. G. D. H. Cole and some of his friends launched their movement of Guild Socialism as a protest against the orthodox parliamentary Fabian socialism of their elders. The experience of practical politics was showing that the Fabian process of permeation is one that can work both ways. It is possible for Socialists to become permeated with Liberalism as well as for Liberals to become permeated with Socialism. And this criticism of the gradualist reformist Fabian method has been one which impatient radical socialists have been making continuously since those days.

The Liberal Party went to pieces during the world war. By 1918 it was clear that an opportunity was opening for the Labor Party to take its place as the second party in the

\*Miss Blodwen Davies has pointed out to me that I was mistaken in the first part of this article, in the March number of *The Canadian Forum*, in referring to Thomas Davidson as a clergyman. He was a philosopher and a founder of ethical societies but not a clergyman. During his life as a wandering scholar he spent some time in Canada.

state. The party constitution was changed so as to make individual membership possible (hitherto one could become a Labor Party member only through being a member of a trade union, of the I.L.P. or of the Fabian Society), and a new completely socialist platform was adopted. Significantly enough, it was the Fabian, Sidney Webb, who in 1918 wrote this first socialist declaration of faith of the Labor party — *Labor and the New Social Order*. The declaration avoided talk of the class war, and presented socialism as simply the next step in the progress of the democratic community. In 1923, when the Labor Party was about to enter into office for the first time, Sidney Webb was chairman of its annual conference. And his chairman's address contained the famous phrase which has been taken ever since as summing up the Fabian approach — "the inevitability of gradualness." The 1924 Labor government included among its cabinet ministers two of the original Fabian Essayists of 1889, Webb and Olivier.

By this time, the 1920's, the Fabian Society itself, having permeated English opinion, and having helped to produce a political party in its own image, having also incidentally launched the *New Statesman* and the London School of Economics, showed signs of going into a decline. Its flood of books and pamphlets lessened. Someone complained sometime in the 1920's that it did little more than hold a summer-school were elderly Fabians came to play tennis with their grandchildren. But when the I.L.P. disintegrated from internal divisions, and when the Socialist League was destroyed through its fanatical determination to collide head-on with the massive slow-moving Labor Party, a group of younger Fabians decided to revitalize the old society. They were convinced of a need which party leaders themselves nearly always refuse to recognize, the need for continuous study and research in social and economic problems if a party's program is not to become ossified and obsolete. Today, under the vigorous leadership of G. D. H. Cole, the Fabian Society is once again pouring forth reading material in great quantities.<sup>2</sup> It functions as a centre where socialist intellectuals can carry on the congenial activities of research and discussion and writing, without being tied down to the official orthodoxy of any particular school of doctrine, or held in leash by the bureaucratic stupidity or the opportunist tactics of a political party machine. The CCF needs a Canadian Fabian Society to do intellectual work of this kind on its behalf for precisely the same reasons that are set forth by Mr. Cole in his exposition of the functions of the rejuvenated British Fabian Society.<sup>3</sup>

So much for the history of the Fabian Society. Let me turn now to some discussion of their political ideas and of the criticisms that have been made of them. Perhaps as good a way as any to deal with this aspect of Fabianism is to take up in turn the successive crises in the Society which have been caused by revolts among its membership against the policies and doctrines of its inner guiding group.

The first of these revolts occurred in 1899 over the Boer War. Shaw wrote a Fabian pamphlet supporting the British case on the ground that President Kruger stood for an obsolete and backward-looking kind of culture which must in time be eliminated by more progressive civilizations. The result of this was that Ramsay MacDonald and other anti-imperialists left the Society, and it was so badly split on this issue of imperialism that it had to preserve itself by deciding not to commit itself one way or the other. It seems a fair criticism of early Fabianism that its leaders showed little

<sup>2</sup>The agent in Canada for all Fabian publications is the Canadian Forum Book Service, 16 Huntley St., Toronto.

<sup>3</sup>See G. D. H. Cole—*The Fabian Society Past and Present* (Fabian Tract Series, No. 258).

insight into the relationship between capitalism and imperialism. In our day this fault has been corrected, and some of the best Fabian publications since 1914 have been on the subject of international organization and of Empire. But the original Shaw-Webb group subscribed neither to the Marxian type of proletarian internationalism nor to the Manchester liberal type which was to lay the basis for our modern League of Nations and United Nations. The original Fabians were a little too apt to react to international crises as simple-minded loyal nationalists.

The second crisis came in the spectacular struggle of H. G. Wells against the established leaders in the early 1900's. And a third was caused by the efforts of G. D. H. Cole round about 1914 to transform Fabian state socialism into his own pet scheme of Guild Socialism. Wells and Cole both objected, from different points of view, that Fabianism in the Webb interpretation of it would mean only a mechanical bureaucracy which would reduce society to a dreary regimented uniformity. Wells as an artist was fearful for individual liberties in such a regime. When he was defeated within the Society he took his revenge by pillorying Mr. and Mrs. Webb in his novel, *The New Machiavelli*.

"They wanted things more organized, more correlated with government and a collective purpose, but they saw it . . . in terms of functionaries, legislative change, and methods of administration. . . . If they had the universe in hand I know they would take down all the trees and put up stamped green shades and sunlight accumulators. Altiora [i.e. Beatrice] thought trees hopelessly irregular." And again: "One sees these necessary unavoidable servants of the workers' commonwealth bustling virtuously about their carefully involved duties, and occasionally raising a neatly rolled umbrella to check the careless course of some irregular citizen who had forgotten to button up his imagination or to shave his character."

Cole, as a spokesman for the industrial workers, objected to the Fabian bureaucratic paradise on the ground that the worker would be essentially no freer under this state capitalism than he was at present under private capitalism. And he worked out his own theory of Guild Socialism, an English adaptation of French Syndicalism, as a challenge to what he called "Sidney Webbicalism." It is difficult not to feel that the Webbs were too prone to assume that the expert in office could solve all problems; and the feeling is not lessened by their enthusiasm for what they observed in Soviet Russia. But Guild Socialism seems to have been only a passing phase in the evolution of British socialist thought, and one hears little of it today.

The Webbs survived all these attacks. Their answer to the accusation of bureaucracy was that they preferred to see government carried on by experts rather than by inexperts, and that bureaucracy to a great extent results not from Fabianism but from the structure of the Great Society of our day. And they pointed to their own long career of authorship, in which they had devoted so much time to the study of trade unions and of co-operatives, and had emphasized that these democracies of producers and consumers must have an even more important place in the future socialist society than in the present capitalistic society.<sup>4</sup>

The most far-reaching criticism of Fabianism has come in our own day from one of the Fabian Old Guard itself, from Bernard Shaw. When the Webbs visited Russia in the early thirties they were tremendously impressed by the Russian experience in managing a planned society, and they insisted that they could discern a genuine democratic participation by

<sup>4</sup>Mary Agnes Hamilton in her recent reminiscences remarks about the Webbs that from start to finish the idea that excited them was collectivism rather than democracy. "Sidney was a born bureaucrat, Beatrice a born aristocrat. In both cases the impulse was benevolent and disinterested but not equalitarian." This is not as kindly a judgment as she passed upon them in her biography, *Sidney and Beatrice Webb*, of 1933, and it doesn't seem quite fair.

the masses in the working of Soviet Communism; but they avoided committing themselves about the implications of the revolutionary prelude of violence and dictatorship which made the U.S.S.R. of the 1930's possible. Bernard Shaw has gone through a much more profound crisis of his Fabian faith. He resigned from the executive of the Society in 1911; and whether he meant it to be so or not, it is easy to see now that his action, coming at that time, has a symbolical significance.

Down to the outbreak of World War I Shaw the artist had little trouble in combining his intuitive artistic insights into human society with his practical Fabian social engineering. His Fabian heroes, whom he was so fond of making the central figures in his plays, always came out victorious because, while having many of the qualities of the saint and the mystic, they always acted in accordance with the dictates of solid scientific utilitarian common-sense. His Swiss soldier of fortune in *Arms and the Man*, who conducts war in the same matter-of-fact business-like spirit in which he runs his Swiss hotels and who makes the romanticists around him look very silly, is a perfect image of Sidney Webb among the revolutionists of the 1880's. His Julius Caesar, the ideal Fabian hero, is of course Bernard Shaw himself as he would have been if destiny had cast him for the role of philosopher-statesman, the supremely practical leader who combines the highest Christian ethics with a ruthless pursuit of his ends, and who knows that the Cleopatras of this world do not need to be taken too seriously because they always ultimately find their Mark Antonys. And while in *Major Barbara* the artist and the politician in Shaw begin to go in opposite directions, and he gives us a dangerously plausible argument for enlightened capitalism, still at the end we are not quite sure whether Barbara the saint and her philosopher-professor have been captured body and soul by the munitions manufacturer or whether they are just about to take him over. And in *Androcles and the Lion* Shaw ends up his pre-war period with a hilarious comedy about all the early socialists he had known, who appear in the play disguised as early Christians—every new religion throws up the same types of character<sup>5</sup>—with Androcles as usual carrying off the day, because he combines the most other-worldly saintliness with the most this-worldly sweet Fabian reasonableness.

But then there is a change in Shaw's temper. The war with all its ferocity and suffering, the revolutions in Russia and in his own native Ireland, the confusion and futility of the post-war period, produce in him a deep, almost religious, disillusionment and pessimism. England, instead of being the happy if somewhat slow-witted community about to be Fabianized, becomes a Heartbreak House. If we are to accomplish anything in the political sphere we must go Back to Methuselah, we must breed a race who will live as long as Methuselah so that we may have time to outgrow our human weaknesses. And in one play after another through the 1920's and 1930's Shaw portrays the futility of the politics he had once believed in, the deep corruption of soul which creeps over societies whose affairs are managed by democratic parliaments and political parties, the eventual spiritual bankruptcy in which western civilization ends. The trouble with Shaw is that this spiritual insight of his is too often blurred, both for himself and his audience, by dreary Shavian twaddle in his prefaces and his press interviews about the superman, a hangover from early romanticism which he has never been able to shake off.

<sup>5</sup>A Canadian who saw the rise of the CCF from the inside could fairly easily identify most of the characters in *Androcles and the Lion* from his own experience. Mr. Woodsworth had many of the qualities of Androcles, including the power to tame lions.

But in his greatest play, *St. Joan*, the pessimistic insight is unblurred. While he claims that he took his heroine straight out of the medieval documents, it is evident that Joan, with her combination of religious mysticism and clear-headed rationality, with her high spirits and her gift for managing men, must have been modelled directly from Beatrice Webb. In the end the saint and reformer is beaten by the practical men who have vested interests to protect, by the bishop and the feudal lord. While later ages laud her name, when she comes back to this earth she finds that nobody really wants her. And the play ends with her despairing cry, "O God that madest this beautiful earth, when will it be ready to receive Thy saints? How long, O Lord, how long?" This is Shaw's final judgment on his generation.

There is no necessary reason, however, to believe that this world was created for the comfort and happiness of its saints and prophets, its artists and philosophers. Our discussion of Fabianism as a political method must be kept on the political level. What then are we to say about the Fabian way today, about its adequacy for the problems of our generation in the mid-twentieth century so different from the problems of the generation of its birth in the late Victorian period?

In the 1880's the Fabians presented their program as just the next step in the progress towards complete democracy. Political democracy had now been achieved; the institutions of political democracy were to be used to bring about economic democracy. "Democracy," wrote Hubert Bland in the Fabian Essays of 1889, "holds socialism in its womb." "Socialism," wrote Webb in the same volume, "is the economic side of the democratic ideal." The function of the Fabians, as they saw it, was to educate English public opinion for this next step in democracy. Socialism was not to be ushered in by any Marxian class war. They preached not class war but human fellowship. Socialism would come as the culmination of the process of democratic advance which had been going on steadily since 1832. It would be achieved piecemeal, gradually, by general public consent. The Fabian appeal was to the community as a whole, not to some millenial working-class.

The most persuasive point in the Fabian argument was that socialism was not merely the next step in democratic advance but that half of the next step had already been taken. They saw themselves as merely interpreting the spirit of the times. Englishmen had already advanced far on the collectivist road in the typical English pragmatic fashion of devising particular expedients to meet particular situations without considering the ultimate objective. Sidney Webb put this argument very effectively in an article about what was going on in England which he wrote in 1889 for the American public:

"Besides our international relations and the army, navy, police and courts of justice, the community now carries on for itself, in some part or another of these islands, the post office, telegraphs, carriage of small commodities, coinage surveys, the regulation of the currency and note issue, the provision of weights and measures, the making, sweeping, lighting and repairing of the streets, roads and bridges, life insurance, the grant of annuities, shipbuilding, stock-brokering, banking, farming and money-lending. . . . It furnishes and maintains its own museums, parks, botanic gardens, art galleries, libraries, concert halls, roads, streets, bridges, markets, fire engines, lighthouses, pilots, ferries, surf boats, steam tugs, lifeboats, slaughter houses, cemeteries, public baths, wash houses, pounds, harbors, piers, wharves, hospitals, dispensaries, gas works, water works, tramways, telegraph cables, allotments, cow meadows, artisans' dwellings, common lodging houses, schools, churches, and reading rooms. It carries on and publishes its own researches in geology, meteorology, statistics, zoology, geography, and even theology. . . . Every one of these functions, including even the army, navy, police and courts of justice, was at one time left to private enterprise, and was a source of legitimate investment of capital. Step by step the

community has absorbed them, wholly and partially, and the area of private exposition has lessened . . .

"Besides all its direct supersession of private enterprise, the State now registers, inspects and controls nearly all the industrial functions which it has not yet absorbed. . . . Whether we so describe them or not, these features of modern English society are essentially 'collectivist' in character, and are utterly contrary to the individualist principles lately dominant in thought. . . . The 'practical man,' oblivious or contemptuous of any theory of the social organism or general principles of social organization, has been forced by the necessities of the time into an ever deepening collectivist channel.

"Socialism of course he still rejects and despises. The individualist Town Councillor will walk along the municipal pavement, lit by municipal gas and cleansed by municipal brooms with municipal water, and seeing by the municipal clock in the municipal market that he is too early to meet his children coming from the municipal school . . . will use the municipal telegraph system to tell them not to walk through the municipal park but to come by the municipal tramway, to meet him in the municipal reading room, by the municipal art gallery, museum and library, where he intends to consult some of the national publications in order to prepare his next speech in the municipal town hall in favor of the nationalization of canals and the increase of government control over the railway system. 'Socialism, sir,' he will say, 'don't waste the time of a practical man by your fantastic absurdities. Self-help, sir, individual self-help, that's what's made our city what it is.'

The strength of this Fabian approach is obvious. It recognized that the reconstruction of the social and economic machinery of a great complex modern society is necessarily a slow process, and that the only permanent changes are those which prove acceptable to the substantial majority of the people. It provided a method of change which called for no interval of dictatorship, which preserved the essential freedoms of discussion and criticism, and which avoided the dislocations and the human suffering that accompany revolution by force and violence. The Fabian method for transforming a capitalist into a socialist society was one that fitted in with British traditions. And on the whole there still seems to me to be no doubt that the arguments for it are much stronger than those which have been brought against it.

But in the 1930's the British economy, which had never quite recovered from the post-war depression of the early 1920's, was suffering severely from the Great Depression. The second Labor government had ended in the fiasco of 1931, and in its two years of office had shown itself unable to solve the problem of unemployment, unwilling indeed to do anything very energetic about it. Nearly all of the intellectuals of the Labor Party came to doubt the validity of Fabian policies. In an era of capitalistic crisis, they said, there was no longer time for the leisurely methods of gradualism. Capitalism in decline could not afford the concessions of the social services which had been easy enough for capitalism in prosperity. And capitalists when faced by crisis would soon drop their democratic trappings. Look at what was happening in Austria, Germany, Spain, and over most of the European continent. The Socialist League under the leadership of Sir Stafford Cripps began to press the Labor Party to commit itself to a more drastic plan of socialist campaign. The Left Book Club, directed by Harold Laski, Victor Gollancz and John Strachey, poured from the Gollancz presses a continuous bombardment of Left Books upon the Fabian entrenchments, trying to drive the party into the open with a Marxian militant policy. The Labor Party analysis of capitalism (i.e. the Fabian analysis), they said, was superficial and inadequate for our day. Fabianism was in fact the child of the illusion of security, begotten of the special position of Great Britain in the nineteenth century.

<sup>6</sup>The future of the British Labor movement," said Professor Laski,<sup>6</sup> "depends upon our willingness to adapt the essentials of the Marxist

<sup>6</sup>This attack upon Fabianism is contained, interestingly enough, in a Fabian pamphlet, *Marx and Today*, Research Series No. 73, May, 1943.

philosophy to the situation we occupy. . . . No one who reads either the speeches or the literature of those years can now avoid a sense of amazement at the light-hearted simplicity with which, despite all foreign experience, the Labor party assumed that the judiciary, the civil service, the armed forces, the churches, the Monarchy represented neutral elements in society the ethos of which would at once be adapted to the fact that a Labor government was in office. The thinking of the movement seemed to dwell almost wholly upon the plane of parliamentary action. . . . It assumed without enquiry that in the long run reason always prevailed over interest. It assumed, also without inquiry, that when it captured an electoral majority it would also capture the state power. . . . It lived by the easy, if pathetic, faith that at some swing of the electoral pendulum it would slip into socialism, and that our powerful bourgeois civilization, which had never hesitated to make war and revolution to achieve its ends, would somehow quietly abdicate when it was defeated by a chance victory of its opponents at the polls. . . . When all allowance is made for national character, the strength of tradition, the impact of historic experience, and so on, there is no reason to believe that when their fundamental power is challenged British capitalists will act very differently from those of France or Germany or the United States. . . . Capitalist democracy does not automatically get transformed into socialist democracy. . . . by the mere flux of time. . . . It is no use facing the ultimate issues of our national life in the hope that in some mysterious fashion we can rely upon the genius of our national character always to produce the right compromise at the appropriate moment. . . . Only upon a Marxian basis can we diagnose them correctly, and hope, thereby, successfully to solve them."

In fact one can almost say that every book, every pamphlet, every article that Professor Laski has written in the last fifteen years or so has been, explicitly or implicitly, an attack upon the Fabian philosophy. But all these efforts of Laski & Co. to induce the Labor Party to take up a more militant revolutionary attitude failed to move the party leaders from their steady unvarying pursuit of Fabian tactics. Laski was dealt with, not very effectively it must be admitted, by being taken on to the executive of the party in the hope that, thereby he could be restrained. The Socialist League was compelled to disband, and Sir Stafford Cripps with two of his lieutenants was compelled to wander for a time in exile from the party. The fate of the most trenchant of all the critics is the most instructive of all. John Strachey's *Coming Struggle for Power* in 1932 put the case against Fabian Social Democracy in its most unqualified form. Social Democratic parties and trade unions, so he demonstrated with infallible Marxist logic, were in essence dishonest and hypocritical, they functioned in the era of capitalist crisis not to end capitalism but to prolong it, their socialism was purely verbal and its purpose was to dope the masses with socialist dreams. The rank and file of the workers who had been betrayed by the MacDonalds, the Snowdens and the Thomases in the 1920's would inevitably be betrayed again in the 1930's and 1940's by the Bevins and the Morrisons and the Attlees. Who can ever forget those brilliant, incisive and devastating chapters of Mr. Strachey? But he has apparently decided to forget them himself. John Strachey is now an under-secretary in the Attlee government.

And the Attlee government, as the chosen instrument for the moment of the inevitability of gradualness, is proceeding with a program of piecemeal socialization in a serene faith — so far as one can judge at this distance — that the British people can still get along in this era of post-war crisis without either revolution or counter-revolution.

So Fabianism has won. Or has it? If it has, if Labor can now give the imaginative and constructive leadership which will carry Britain through the difficult years ahead, if it can maintain an effective national unity while working out the new institutions of a free democratic planned society, then Fabianism may prove to be not merely the English way but a model for the rest of the world. Fabianism may show us

how to avoid the ugly choice between totalitarian communism on one side and totalitarian fascism on the other. England, to apply William Pitt's famous sentence to a very different situation, may yet save herself by her efforts and Europe by her example.

In that address on Fabian history and Fabian tactics which Bernard Shaw delivered to the Society in 1892 and from which I have already quoted, he ended with these words about the future:

"Whilst our backers at the polls are counted by tens, we must continue to crawl and drudge and lecture as best we can. When they are counted by hundreds we can permeate and trim and compromise. When they rise to tens of thousands we shall take the field as an independent party. Give us hundreds of thousands, we will ride the whirlwind and direct the storm."

Well, they now have not merely their hundreds of thousands but their millions. Twelve million people voted for Labor in the British elections last year. The disciples of Shaw and Webb now have their opportunity to ride the whirlwind and direct the storm.

### *Poem 1944.*

Can heart hold delight  
through dark of night,  
night's chill, unfalteringly?  
Or does it listening hear  
the beat, beat, beat of fear  
and brittle  
break?

O uncounted hours  
swung to yesterday!  
No kiss to waken  
and I shaken by the vacuums day  
turn numbed away.  
Sleep pours upon me,  
leaves no sound against my ear,  
no dreams to tantalize or sear,  
no tear.

Day penetrates my room:  
street car grinding to a stop,  
heel toe, heel toe, rhythmic flow  
of walking feet  
and a symphony of sound  
bursting up the street and down;  
children banging, house-door shut,  
laughing, talking,  
bark of dog,  
spit of cat;  
and a breeze comes bouncing in,  
puffs the sea-green curtains out,  
swings a sunbeam on the floor. . . .

Life has this to waken day,  
sparing well and joyously  
weighty counterpart of me,  
playing with her earth-warm fingers  
lively captivating tunes that sweep  
through today  
and through tomorrow  
in a great crescendo.

*Hilma Parsons.*

## Is Labor Unity Possible?

*Murray Cotterill*

► IF THERE is one state of affairs which organized labor finds it hard to justify, it is the continued split between what is loosely called "the A.F. of L." and "the C.I.O." Not only does this division bewilder sympathizers outside of the union movement, but it constantly frustrates unionists themselves. What is worse, continued separation presents an obvious opening in the armour of class solidarity through which business can conceivably drive a shaft should there ever be a social showdown.

Before studying the possibilities of achieving labor unity, it would be well to realize that the actual disunity which does exist is not half as bad as newspaper accounts would have us believe.

The American Federation of Labor and the Congress of Industrial Organizations in the United States or the Trades and Labor Congress and Canadian Congress of Labor here in Canada are not themselves unions. They are *federations* of unions possessing very little power of their own. To speak about conflict between the A.F. of L. and the C.I.O. or between the Trades Congress and the C.C.L. is, therefore, not quite accurate. Any conflict which does exist is between national and international unions affiliated to these various congresses. Close study of the problem will reveal that these battles are pretty well limited to cases where no one individual affiliate of either labor centre dominates the industry or trade affected.

For example, in the United States, there is yet no serious argument between the C.I.O.'s building workers and the A.F. of L.'s building trades unions since the A.F. of L. craft groups cannot help but dominate in a field where workers are mostly independent journeymen rather than permanent employees of one company or in an industry which is still resisting mass-production and prefabrication methods. And, despite the many skilled journeymen within the influential A.F. of L. Metal Trades Council, there is no serious overlapping or challenge to the C.I.O.'s Steelworkers in the permanent-employment basic steel industry or to the C.I.O.'s Auto Workers in the auto industry. Affiliated either to C.I.O. or A.F. of L., the United Mine Workers are dominant within the coal mining areas. There is complete co-operation between the A.F. of L.-affiliated International Ladies' Garment Workers and the C.I.O.-affiliated Amalgamated Clothing Workers. The first union concentrates on women's dress shops and the second concentrates on men's suit factories.

Competition does, however, exist in the yet non-unionized industries and within factories which are not a clear-cut part of any one industry. But the competition is just as fierce within the A.F. of L. and within the C.I.O. as between the two of them.

For example, the semi-industrial International Association of Machinists (A.F. of L.) competed hammer and tongs during the war years with the United Auto Workers (C.I.O.) within the aircraft industry. The same union often clashes with the C.I.O.'s Steelworkers and Electrical Workers, but also with other metal craft unions of the A.F. of L. There are battles royal going on inside the still-unorganized Textile Industry, where a national union chartered by the Trades and Labor Congress is competing with an international union directly chartered by the same A.F. of L. which is the parent body of the Trades Congress, and where both of them are

matching wits with a C.I.O. affiliate. Inside the Canadian Congress of Labor there are often jurisdictional disputes between the Steelworkers, Auto Workers, Electrical Workers and Shipyard Federation. In fact, anywhere there is a non-unionized industry or marginal plant, there is a potential jurisdictional conflict.

To suggest for one moment that all this battling could be cut out by mutual agreement between the labor centers would be the height of foolishness. Not as long as the various affiliates maintain full sovereignty over dues collection, staff appointments and general policy. In fact, there is grave doubt in many laborites' minds about the virtue of eliminating competition. There is many a plant and many an industry which would still be unorganized today had it not been for division and competition within the labor movement. Unions are something like businesses in this respect. Up to a certain stage competition is their lifeblood and produces socially useful results. Once that stage is passed, competition becomes wasteful and democratically-controlled monopoly is preferable.

Although you will never find this principle established by either constitution or resolution, the general policy is to permit small groups to battle it out for control of an industry. In the latter stages other bigger unions step in and help bring about fusion and clear jurisdictional demarcation. Most labor centers try to keep down jurisdictional battles within their own ranks. But, as in any other human agency, the decision of the rank and file usually wins out in the end. Looking at division within labor from this viewpoint of competition between large, independent, national and international unions immediately suggests a possible formula whereby the surface fissure as between one labor center and the other can be healed. Is it not possible for labor congresses to officially admit their inability to completely control and unwaveringly blueprint the development of organization within any given trade or industry and, having thus "agreed to disagree" on this one point, get together on common issues affecting both the established and the still-growing unions?

In Great Britain, where there is only one large labor centre, this course has been followed. The Trade Union Congress of Great Britain contains craft unions, general unions and industrial unions. Despite the oft-repeated fable about the comparative "reasonableness" of British Labor, these affiliates squabble just as heartily over jurisdiction as do their American counterparts. The T.U.C. assists unions in bringing about fusion of organizations and in peacefully settling jurisdictional disputes. But the mere fact that one union happens to overlap on another union doesn't bar either union from T.U.C. affiliation. It has been some time since any British labor organization has been expelled from the T.U.C. because of its failure to accept a jurisdictional committee recommendation.

This "agree to disagree" principle has been established here in North America in the few but rapidly increasing instances of co-operation on the lower levels of unionism. Very often agreement has cut directly across the lines of affiliation, as in the recent case where the A.F. of L. Machinists and the C.I.O. Auto Workers finally decided to stop arguing about aircraft plants, and got together on a plan to eliminate raiding by one union on any plant organized successfully by the other union. In Toronto, where there has been a marked development of united action between the Trades Congress's Toronto District Trades and Labor Council and the C.C.L.'s Toronto Labour Council, jurisdiction is a "taboo" subject. The two Councils have arranged meetings between compet-

ing affiliates upon the request of one of the competitors but, once they get the two parties together, the two Councils bow out of the meeting in a hurry. There are many places in North America where local labor centres exist which comprise both C.I.O. and A.F. of L. affiliates, despite the fact that the local body carries on without benefit of charter from either labor congress.

Possibly the time has come when a similar formula can be worked out on the top levels. Canada's Trades and Labor Congress possesses competing unions within its own ranks. The Canadian Congress of Labor also has competing unions. Affiliates of both bodies squabble from time to time but, when the chips are down, it is usually some Government Labor Relations Board which settles the argument by taking a vote of the employees involved. Most startling of all is the fact that, while John L. Lewis' Mine Workers have left the C.I.O. and gone back to the A.F. of L. in the United States, its international executive board has permitted the Canadian districts of the union to remain affiliated with the Canadian Congress of Labour. This would seem to present an excellent opportunity for the Congresses, possibly pioneered by the Canadian Mine Workers, at least to arrange for a joint Co-ordinating Committee on legislative problems. If it can be done on the bottom levels of labor, why not consider it at the top level?

It must be pointed out, in conclusion, that this suggestion does not mean that jurisdictional refereeing within each Congress should be discontinued. The more peacemaking that can be done, the better. But that subject should be taboo on any Joint Committee of Congresses that might be set up. Nor would this formula bring about understanding between unions which are divided on religious or political grounds. Once "principles" in the conscience-assuaging sense of that word get interjected into any form of human endeavour, reason flies out the window and any hope of peace is lost. Fortunately, the important North American unions are nearly all practical bodies not dominated by any ideology other than the advancement of their members' financial interests. Thus unfettered by artificial concepts, they should be able to get together on such a realistic formula of unity.

### *Faith*

The thought of it, the fierce atomic age,  
Thuds in the brain and echoes in the heart  
Of all mankind.  
Could life be crushed by force  
Unbridled and unknown?  
We do not know—and yet  
We shall rebel, and turn as David turned,  
With pebbles in his hand, to mock  
The giant's ghastly face.

*Constance Barbour.*



## Radio Crossroads, 1932

*R. B. Tolbridge*

► "THE POLICY of radio broadcasting should depend on whether we consider broadcasting as a business or as a medium to be used for the benefit of the country."

In these words Dr. Augustin Frigon, member of the Aird Royal Commission on Radio Broadcasting, defined the issue confronting the Canadian people in 1932, when parliament got around to considering the Commission's report of 1929.

The Canadian Radio League, as noted in a previous article, had demonstrated how overwhelming was the public's support for the principle espoused in the Aird proposals—that of a nationally owned and operated radio system, managed by a public corporation as trustee for the people and responsible in matters of major policy, not to the government of the day, but to parliament.

The importance of the issue was stressed by Dr. E. A. Corbett, then director of adult education at the University of Alberta, in testifying before the parliamentary committee, in these words: "One of the greatest social problems of the future will continue to be, as it is now, the wise use of leisure hours. A nationally controlled radio system, better than any other organization, can supplement the work of existing agencies in providing for the leisure hours of the Canadian people."

Considerations leading to support of a publicly owned and operated radio system undoubtedly assumed varying prominence in the minds of different people. Uppermost with the listening public, especially in the less populous regions and communities, was simply the desire for a better broadcasting service, and the conviction that private interests could not, or would not, provide it to the extent that a publicly owned system might be expected to do. This opinion gained sanction, of course, from the conclusions of the Commission, which were thus epitomized by its chairman, Sir John Aird, in his testimony before the parliamentary committee: "While the trend of radio station competition is toward duplication in some parts of the country, in the less populated regions the Commission found a decided lack of Canadian broadcasting, nor did any witness submit any practical proposal to show how this very necessary service could be given to the people of Canada by private enterprise."

Some people were concerned about the probable effect of Canadians receiving the bulk of their radio fare from United States sources, and, conversely, these people were impressed by the unifying and "Canadianizing" possibilities of a public broadcasting system. This consideration seems to have been influential, for instance, in converting the Right Honorable R. B. Bennett to the principle of nationalized radio. Speaking in the house on February 16, 1932, he said: "The enormous benefits of an adequate scheme of radio broadcasting controlled and operated by Canadians is abundantly plain. Properly employed, the radio can be made a most effective instrument in nation building, with an educational value difficult to estimate." Fear that United States interests might get control of broadcasting in Canada under a private enterprise system undoubtedly played a part in such reasoning.

On the other hand, musicians and those interested in fostering Canadian talent were beginning to realize, apart from other considerations, that private radio, especially if it continued its tendency to draw much of its material from United States networks, was unlikely to offer any rapidly expanding opportunity for the employment and encourage-

ment of Canadian artists, as a publicly owned and operated system might do.

A few who understood the technical problems involved—allocation of broadcasting channels and elimination of "interference"—felt that Canada's delegates to international radio conferences would be in a much stronger position if they represented a national monopoly and spoke for the whole Canadian people.

It may have been that a good deal of the press support for the Aird Plan sprang from the newspapers' growing fear of a potential rival, whose claws would be clipped by a public ownership plan that called for severe limitations on radio advertising; though a few newspapers, owning radio stations and beginning to find them directly or indirectly profitable as advertising media, were in somewhat of a dilemma.

But underlying and sharpening all other considerations, so far at least as the average intelligent Canadian was concerned, was the feeling of disgust and indignation aroused by the blatant commercial exploitation of radio on the North American continent. The feeling, and the conviction flowing from it, had been trenchantly expressed in 1929 by the Right Honorable Arthur Meighen in an address to the National Council of Education in Vancouver, when he said: "If left to private enterprise like the magazines and the moving pictures, it [radio] is bound to cater to the patronage that will reflect in dividends for the stockholders. That is sound commercially, but it will never achieve the best educational ends. . . . The amount of fodder that is the antithesis of intellectual that comes over the radio is appalling while the selection of material for broadcasting remains in commercial hands."

To understand this widespread dissatisfaction and revolt, one need only glance at broadcasting conditions as they existed in North America and elsewhere in 1932.

In most European countries, radio had become a government or quasi-government monopoly supported by receiving-set license fees and without commercial exploitation. In Great Britain, after a four years' experiment with private monopoly under the British Broadcasting Company owned by six radio manufacturers, parliament created the British Broadcasting Corporation with a board of governors appointed by the Crown to take over, own and operate all broadcasting stations, with a free hand as to administration but responsible to the people through parliament. It was to be financed by revenue from a listeners' license fee of ten shillings, without any sale of time to advertisers or commercial sponsors. In six years of BBC operation, licensed listeners had increased from 1,840,375 to 4,556,740, and according to Gladstone Murray, then public relations officer for the BBC, who testified before the Canadian parliamentary committee of 1932, any suggestion of turning radio back to private ownership in Britain would have been "met with derision."

Only in the Americas had radio been left to more or less unregulated private enterprise. The United States had 608 stations, using 90 of the 96 broadcasting channels assigned to that country. Development of network broadcasting, however, had led to domination of the air by two powerful corporations—the National Broadcasting Company, a subsidiary of the gigantic Radio Corporation of America, and the Columbia Broadcasting System, controlled by William S. Paley and his family. NBC had 85 and CBS 92 outlets, owned or affiliated, totalling 29.6 per cent of all United States stations. Seven of NBC's ten licensed stations, and seven of CBS's eight, were of 50,000 watts power, and many of these high power stations were clearly heard over a wide radius north of the border.

Canada, assigned six clear and eleven shared channels on the broadcasting band, had 66 licensed stations, 37 owned by radio manufacturers and dealers, railway companies, retail stores and other commercial interests, nine by newspapers, and 20 by non-profit radio clubs, universities or religious organizations. Only seven of these were of more than 1,000 watts power (CFCN, Calgary, 10,000 watts; CKGW, Toronto, CKAC, Montreal, CJGC, London, and CKY, Winnipeg, each 5,000 watts; CFRB, Toronto and VAS, Glace Bay, each 4,000 watts). Two were of 1,000 watts power, 21 of 500 watts, three of 250 watts, and the rest of 100 watts or less.

Eight of Canada's stations had been broadcasting on an average of 10 to 16 hours a day; many did not average over an hour; most were on the air for only two or three hours daily. The daily average for all stations was 6 hours 15 minutes.

Some of the more populous centres were over-served with stations, Toronto having five (one 5,000 watt, one 4,000 watt and three 500 watt) and Vancouver six; while the whole of New Brunswick, for instance, had only three, and Manitoba only two. Large areas, especially in the north, were beyond the radius of any Canadian stations, and many Canadian listeners, even along the border, had no recourse but to tune in United States stations, from which they got either a clearer reception than from any Canadian station, or the only programs available to them at all.

But the fact was that many of those within range of Canadian stations were getting such poor fare that they preferred the lesser evil obtainable from across the line. Native "live talent" occupied only a part of the limited time during which even the larger Canadian stations were on the air; this was eked out by phonograph records and electrical transcriptions. Four of the larger stations in Toronto and Montreal had become affiliated with the United States networks, and were devoting a considerable portion of their time to the programs relayed from these networks, some sustaining, but most of them advertiser-sponsored. For instance, CFCF, Montreal (Marconi) was on the air an average of 15½ hours daily. Of this time, 4 hours 22 minutes was occupied by NBC programs; of total time, approximately 5 hours was given over to advertiser-sponsored programs, 4½ hours to sustaining programs, and 6 hours 7 minutes to phonograph records. CFRB, Toronto (Rogers Majestic Corp.) was on the air an average of 14 hours 22 minutes daily, and was giving 7 hours 15 minutes to CBS programs and 2 hours to phonograph records.

It is true that a few of the programs brought in from the United States consisted of symphony orchestra, operatic or other concert entertainment of a high order of excellence. Some of these were "sustainers" paid for by the network companies, others were sponsored by large commercial advertisers who sensed the goodwill value of offering such expensive entertainment with a minimum of sales talk. Even in Canada, three or four big companies (mostly affiliates of U.S. corporations) had adopted this practice; and the two Canadian railways had made a start in chain broadcasting by renting time on stations across Canada for goodwill programs—incidentally laying the basis for future remunerative business by providing the land-line connections which were bound to be leased eventually for other network broadcasting. A few low power stations licensed to broadcasting clubs or universities were performing a valuable educational or community service.

But these were the bright spots in what had already become in the United States, and was rapidly becoming in Canada, an orgy of commercial exploitation of the air. The most

powerful instrument of mass communication yet devised was being progressively prostituted for commercial profit to meet the very lowest levels of taste and intelligence, without the slightest concern for its broad educational possibilities. The 600,000 Canadian set owners who paid an annual fee of \$2 were being insulted with a broadcasting "system" which not only crowded a superfluity of stations into small densely-populated areas, leaving others unserved, but which furnished meagre programs, lacking in vitality and variety, and flooded the air with the most shameless advertising ballyhoo.

An eloquent arraignment of what had come to pass in the United States, an arraignment which was also an appeal to Canadians to save their own country from a similar fate, was made by Dr. Lee de Forest, distinguished radio engineer, inventor of the vacuum tube and generally acknowledged as the Father of Radio. In 1910, Dr. de Forest had initiated broadcasting by putting on the air a performance of the Metropolitan Opera Company in New York in which Caruso sang. This was ten years before the date blazoned as the birthday of broadcasting by commercial interests whose avaricious patent war had unnecessarily delayed the development of the new science. Watching the gradual debasement by these same commercial interests of the mighty instrument of communication he had helped to bring to birth, Dr. de Forest had urged his professional colleagues of the American Institute of Radio Engineers to "take active steps to get rid of the stupid avarice which is killing the most splendid and potent means of entertainment, culture and education which mankind has yet devised."

And here are the words he addressed, through the Canadian Radio League, to the Canadian people:

"In 1923 . . . I hailed this new instrumentality as a beneficent force in civilization with potentialities which could only be compared to those initiated five centuries ago by the art of printing. I saw it as a noble agency for the diffusion of education and culture. I saw it as a boundless source of pleasure for the multitude. I saw it as a means of uniting the nations of the earth in closer bonds, as the messenger and herald of a world-wide peace.

"So much for the dream. The reality you know. Within the span of a few years we in the United States have seen broadcasting so debased by commercial advertising that many a householder regards it as he does the brazen salesman who tries to thrust his foot in at the door. Under what the present masters of radio are pleased to call the American plan—which is no plan whatsoever but a rank and haphazard growth that has sprung up in default of proper regulation—broadcasting is by uncounted thousands regarded as a nuisance. Radio sets here are a drug on the market. In many a home the cabinet gathers dust. Thinking people resent the moronic fare that is mostly offered them. They resent the fact that the rights of education on the air have been steadily curtailed by the insistent advertiser. They are in revolt against the policies, rooted in greed, which have made the ether a market place. They demand that this huckstering orgy be curbed, that they, the owners of receiving sets, whose financial stake in radio is vastly greater than that of the station owners, shall no longer be fobbed off with a vulgar, cheapjack show designed solely to coax the dollars out of the pockets of the public. . . .

"May I voice a hope that many of us, your fellow Americans, share? We trust that you, our neighbors across the undefended boundary line which, for a century or more has been the world's noblest symbol of peace, will strengthen our hands. We have faith that you, who have in so many ways set a lofty example in self-government, will point the way to a wiser use of this scientific boon that we have let fall into unworthy keeping. We look to you in Canada to lead radio

in North America out of the morass in which it is pitifully sunk. May Canada fulfill my early dream!"

In the United States, it was already too late to arrest the tide. Radio broadcasting had become too profitable for its powerful beneficiaries to brook any interference with their entrenched privileges. Revenue from NBC's time sales (after discounts but before agency commission) had grown from \$7,256,179 in 1928 to \$20,455,210 in 1932, and its net income (before federal income tax) from a deficit of \$464,385 to a surplus of \$1,163,220. In the same period, time sales of CBS had jumped to \$11,518,082, and net income to \$1,888,140.\*

In Canada, commercial station owners, gazing with envious eyes at what was happening across the line, trembled with cupidity and apprehension. Some might be making little profit, but if they could only maintain and extend their privileges, the possibilities were breathtaking. Nationalization of radio would put an end to these alluring prospects. By any means, at any cost, the menace must be fought and thwarted. They knew they would have as allies behind the scenes the powerful interests which held United States radio in a golden grip. With a will they set to work. The tactics they pursued, and the measure of success they achieved, will form the subject of the next article.

\*In 1940, NBC's time sales brought in \$41,683,341 (after discounts but before agency commissions); net income (before federal tax) was \$5,934,772. Corresponding figures for CBS in 1940 were \$35,630,063 and \$7,431,634. MBS time sales in 1940 were \$3,600,161.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### The Editor:

In each of the last two issues of *The Canadian Forum*, there has been a letter expressing general disagreement with the views of Major General Brock Chisholm and his right to express them. I should like, instead, to register strong support for the viewpoint of General Chisholm, and also a strong protest against the principle of curtailment of the rights of expression of a Deputy Minister.

I have heard Major General Chisholm speak on two separate occasions. One could not but be impressed by his evident sincerity and honesty. I cannot understand where Mr. Forsey and Mr. Armstrong obtain their opinion that General Chisholm wishes to abolish the concept of right and wrong. He desires, however, to base the morality of right and wrong on a new single premise, truth; instead of the now present mixture of truth, superstition and tradition. Santa Claus may seem to be a trivial matter, but to childish minds it is rather fundamental. To have a part of the child's philosophy (and such it should be called) completely blotted out is no small matter. The result can have far-reaching consequences, especially when other ideals are similarly smashed.

Concerning his expression of ideas — Mr. Armstrong's opinion that Dr. Chisholm's discretion and judgment are to be doubted because he enrages (?) a large number of citizens and taxpayers, merely makes one suspicious of Mr. Armstrong's social philosophies. If public officials are to be a group of apple polishing appeasers, Heaven help the future of democracy. The sooner we have officials who are willing to express opinions, based on judgment and knowledge, without asking whether the public is going to like them or not, the sooner we will, as citizens, be able to trust and believe our leaders. It must be recognized that the leaders and public officials in a democracy have two functions. They

must first do their duty as public servants and look to the public for guidance. But they have as well the duty that has in general been avoided, and that is to lead the public, either through inherent knowledge or through information that their position may give them. The late Mr. Roosevelt admirably demonstrated this latter duty, to his everlasting credit and our everlasting gratitude.

And so may I close with a "Thank You" to Major General Chisholm, and more power to him and the example that he has given to us.

L. D. ARMSTRONG,  
Ottawa, Ont.

### The Editor:

I have read your thoroughly enjoyable February issue; that's to say, thoroughly enjoyable except for the editorial, "Balance of Power." Even that was well done up to the last few sentences.

The writer of this editorial has been misinformed by the "free" press of the United States, which is forever telling the people how our servicemen overseas want, more than anything on earth, to come home to ma's home cooking, ice cream and apple pie. Their lack of understanding of the realities of power politics is distressing, indeed, but it is not necessary to understand such things in order to know what they know, and to want to be delivered from it. The apple pie and ice cream myth is hardly enough reason to want so desperately to be free from the armed forces. The protests, the mass meetings of those soldiers is only one more opportunity to calumniate the enlisted man.

Either your editorial writer has not heard of the caste system, the undemocratic rule which exists in the services, or he is trying to ignore the condition. Those lads want to be free of the degrading position which they cannot stand, as intelligent humans, much longer, free from the hypocrisy of showing respect to men they do not respect, free to enter the clubs and organizations restricted to any enlisted man, but wide open to the officers. Is it necessary for the officer to have so much better food than his men? In occupied Germany the enlisted man still eats his peas, kraut, meat and ice cream from his mess-kit, and it isn't quite edible all lumped together. The officer has a plate and someone, usually an enlisted man, to serve him. He has lounge facilities which every officer is invited to use at his convenience. There are other distinctions, not so apparent, but nonetheless real to the enlisted man.

To be kept overseas for eighteen months doing nothing but making chests and chairs and tables for the officers' club was the experience of one sailor. Any of the lads will tell you that when a beachhead landing was made in the Pacific, the first structure to be built was the officers' club. This, in spite of the fact that there are no facilities whatsoever for the enlisted men who outnumber the officers.

This letter is to beg your editorial writer to read between the lines and consider that while the average serviceman is a simple soul, he is not so simple as to try to jeopardize the peace for apple pie and ice cream. The truth is deeper and his reasons are more profound; he feels it is not too much to ask to want to live in equality, and if it must be a democratic world, he doesn't understand why the service representing this world should not also be democratic.

This is not the letter of an American patriot; it has nothing to do with my being American and taking up for American servicemen, but rather the servicemen of Canada and the United States, for their plight is the same.

MRS. JOHN ELMS,  
Houston, Texas.

## The Editor:

The November issue of *The Canadian Forum* has reached Greenland with Herman Voaden's article, "Theatre Record, 1945." First of all, it was good to see such an article in print in a Canadian magazine, and more particularly, in one such as *The Canadian Forum*. What Mr. Voaden has to say will strike a responsive chord in many people in Canada who have been waiting patiently—too patiently—for some tangible manifestation of interest in a Canadian theatre. However, there are also many people whose valuable interest will be lost and the writer's main issues obscured by a mist known sometimes as "Torontophobia" or "Ontarioitis."

The article gives a moderately adequate assessment of theatre activity in western Canada, and certainly a very clear and worthwhile picture of the situation in Ontario. Here I grant the author's privilege of dealing at length with the situation he knows most intimately. But, having started with the West Coast, and working east to Ontario, he stops; the four remaining provinces, Quebec, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia and Prince Edward Island, are not mentioned. Yet the author's introduction indicates that he intends to treat the subject as one of national importance and expresses hopes of Canada being made a nation culturally.

I can speak for only one city in one of these four forgotten provinces. Judging from the amount of activity in it, and allowing for regional differences of expression and character, it is safe to say that in cities and towns in each of these provinces there has been a similar interest and program of theatre work. In Montreal there is a vigorous French theatre of many groups and organizations which, taken together, form what is doubtless not only the most enthusiastic, but the most skilled regional group in Canada. Among the "amateur" actors and actresses in the city there is real talent, and exiled actors and actresses from the French professional stage worked with various companies without overbalancing the quality of the acting. In design and production they exhibit a freedom from conventional forms, a vivid appreciation of the line, color and movement, which often results in productions which are not just "good theatre," but theatre which is strictly Canadian. To cite just one example of the high standard of production, performance and design, I mention "Fridolinons," the annual show produced by "Fridolin," the *gamin* Voltaire, Gratien Gélinas.

Some French Canadian influence is found very fortunately in some of the English-speaking groups in Montreal. This is particularly true of theatre design which in many cases breaks away entirely from old and stultifying methods of expression. The children's productions of the Educational Department of the Art Association of Montreal under the guidance of Dr. Arthur Lismer help educate and entertain the children taking part. They also have much to teach the adults in the audience who learn first that here is a healthy and enlightening method of teaching children, and secondly, that the dramatic instinct is abundantly present in children, and that we who are interested in fostering this instinct and interest should not let it go unattended in young Canadians' formative years.

The Montreal Repertory Theatre continued its program with greatly depleted personnel, and audiences are encouraged by signs that it is returning once more to the experimental stage work which made it one of the leading amateur groups in Canada a decade ago. McGill University has, what is to my knowledge, the only accredited full courses in drama in Canadian universities. These two courses, branches of the English department, continued throughout the war with instruction in technique of the drama and the production of plays. Another group of young people, known as the Cana-

dian Art Theatre, completed an ambitious first year of existence. Headed by a Canadian girl of unusual talent, Miss Joy Thompson, it is a group worthy of attention beyond city or provincial borders.

And, finally, the season 1944-45 was marked in Montreal by its most ambitious undertaking to date. This was a presentation of *Much Ado About Nothing* for which the Montreal Festivals, the Shakespeare Society and the Montreal Repertory Theatre joined forces. The cast and production crew represented unofficially nearly every theatre group in the city and the production's success was not only artistic and financial, but as an experiment in co-operation in a field where it is too often lacking. As a final evidence of increased interest in Montreal in a national theatre for Canada, I offer the example of an exhibit held at the Art Association of Montreal. It was sponsored by the Community Players Theatre Library, titled "Theatre-Montreal '44-'45" and consisted of a display of set and costume designs, sketches and photographs contributed by English and French-speaking groups from all over the city.

While Montreal is a big city with larger resources than most, smaller centres in Quebec and the Maritimes have a relative record of activity in amateur theatre and troop entertainment which does not warrant a complete dismissal by anyone writing on the Canadian theatre in 1945.

JOAN JACKSON,  
(Mrs. M. J. Dunbar),  
Godthaab, Greenland.

## The Editor:

My subscription to *The Canadian Forum* lapsed some time ago; I have been asked to renew it, and I have been wondering whether or not I should do so. Your March issue has made up my mind on this point, finally and conclusively. Your editorial on "Spies in Ottawa" confirms an aspect of policy with which I am in profound disagreement; therefore (and not without regret) I am compelled to discontinue my subscription, and thereby dissociate myself from *The Canadian Forum*.

For several years I have been a faithful supporter and, on more than one occasion, a contributor. At one time I had great hopes of seeing *The Canadian Forum* become established as the leading progressive journal of Canada. Now, I am afraid, it is beyond hope in this respect. Increasingly, it has been guilty of anti-Soviet sniping, coming more and more out into the open. Remarks about the "low quality of Russian morality," about Soviet foreign policy having "always been completely amoral," reveal on the part of the *Forum* a complete misunderstanding of present-day world politics.

The key to world politics lies in the now obvious historical fact that the capitalist world, ever since the revolution of 1917, has done everything in its power to undermine, sabotage, attack and if possible defeat the young and growing U.S.S.R., the world's only socialist state. This fact has been documented in dozens of reliable volumes, the latest being *The Great Conspiracy* by Michael Sayers and Albert Kahn. Socialists will see the present "spy scare" principally as just another in a long series of anti-Soviet provocations and conspiracies. They will therefore attack and expose all its aspects and implications, and all the motivations behind it.

This I should have expected *The Canadian Forum* to do. But this it has not done, having fallen into the trap of the anti-Soviet, anti-socialist propagandists. So long as it fails to realize its responsibility to the progressive cause, I for one have no alternative but to discontinue my subscription.

JOHN MARSHALL,  
Winnipeg, Manitoba.

## Guatemala: Dictator's Aftermath

*Tom Irving*

► FOR PEOPLE who ask whether it is possible to re-establish democratic government on the ruins of a former dictatorship, Guatemala is a laboratory case.

The fourteen years of Gen. Jorge Ubico's regime were in fact preceded by several decades of more or less arbitrary government in that small country. Those who have read John L. Stephen's *Incidents of Travel in Central America* will remember the anarchy which accompanied the break-up of the Central American confederation a hundred years ago; and how the Church allied itself with a rather lawless Indian element to expel the anti-clerical federalist Morazan.

The past century in Guatemala has meant the same struggle as in Mexico, although with slightly different groupings and without the protracted Revolution of the neighboring land: just as Juarez and the Mexican Liberals achieved the Great Reform of 1857 which separated the Church from the State, so did Barrios and his Liberals do the same for Guatemala in 1871. But subsequently the Liberals lost their fire and purpose, and Guatemalan history has witnessed few really glorious episodes in late years.

When the recent war broke out, President Ubico hastened to offer bases to the United States for the defense of the Panama Canal, and the national radio and the muffled press were fervent in their espousal of slogans like "Guatemala with the Democracies." Even the *Reader's Digest* went out of its way to eulogize the Guatemalan government, and only a few months before the populace rose up heroically to overthrow the militarist tyranny, it published a panegyric of Gen. Ubico's efficiency and good roads that reminded one of pre-war praise of Mussolini's punctual train service.

However, the system Ubico had erected was too efficiently established to topple entirely overnight. His nominated successor, Gen. Ponce, allowed him to go on living in the capital next door to the Spanish legation; the police remained with their sinister arms; and the old spies and stool pigeons were still loose. I even heard foreign businessmen remarking how Ponce was a "strong man," and that it would be foolish to hold the elections he had promised since they really needed a firm hand in the country.

Indeed, foreign business concerns were only too interested in maintaining the *status quo ante*, and their own diplomatic representatives were not far behind them in sympathy. To illustrate this it is reported that the United States Embassy soon discovered that Ponce was not a popular figure, and decided to stage a "revolution" and replace the provisional president with a "safe" general of its own choosing. This upset was planned for the 21st of October, 1944; but the people got wind of it and staged their own revolt a day earlier and thus managed to unseat Ponce and install a fresh provisional government pledged to hold a fair election in December. The ridiculous part of this whole affair is that when the American ambassador heard of the revolt on the 20th, he drove his own candidate through the downtown streets of the capital in his own automobile, and could neither understand how the demonstration had come twenty-four hours early, nor why his general was not being acclaimed.

Ubico himself took refuge with the British legation, for Mr. Leche, the minister, was a personal friend of his, and

the popular mood was one ready to break into the Spanish legation. Since both the United States and the British diplomatic establishments throughout Latin America have consistently refused asylum to political refugees, in violation of Latin American custom, this partiality to a tyrant was considered distinctly unfair. Mr. Leche was also reputed to have been connected with certain financial transactions with Ubico, and after a consistently unneutral attitude to the new government, he was finally declared *persona non grata* and the British had to transfer him to Chile.

In the December elections, Dr. Juan Jose Arevalo, an exiled university professor, was elected president. He is a friendly and unassuming person in his forties, and is undoubtedly a popular choice. His main objective now is to restore freedom and prosperity to his country.

One of Dr. Arevalo's great interests is the refederation of Central America, and although only El Salvador and perhaps Nicaragua are favorably disposed to the project at present, it is an ideal that may eventually be realized. If it should be, it will mean as much for Central American prosperity as Confederation did for Canada.

Another of his interests is the position of the Indian. Guatemala is predominantly an Indian country, and the *ladinos*, as the Europeanized population of whatever stock is called, live on a certain amount of sufferance. Ubico tried to curry favor with the Indians by revising the debt laws which had held them in peonage, and he achieved a certain popularity with them; but Dr. Arevalo wants to do something more enduring. This is intimately linked to education, which naturally is Arevalo's greatest interest, for he is a trained educator, and the percentage of illiteracy in Central American countries is high.

Ubico had militarized even the most elementary grades, sharply reduced the amount of schooling subsidized by the government in order to increase the military budget, and abolished "frills" like the Faculty of Arts in the National University of San Carlos. Now President Arevalo hopes to reduce the percentage of illiteracy, and to raise the cultural level of the country. He has reopened several high schools and the Faculty of Humanities under Dr. Martinez Duran, set up an alphabetization campaign in the remote districts and the cities alike, and restored freedom of speech, press, and personal correspondence.

However, Guatemala still remains in ignorance when judged as a whole; although the average Guatemalan who has been fortunate enough to gain an education is astoundingly keen and well-informed. It will thus take many patient years before the country regains anything like a stable government and unity of purpose. There are also agricultural problems to be solved, and new industries to be developed in order to raise the standard of living. For Guatemala is a divided but wealthy country, possessing great natural resources, fine scenery and climate, and people with really wonderful skills. More than almost any American country, Guatemala has retained a rich though dormant Indian heritage, and if it is able to evolve into a modern nation, the world can expect new and great things of her. To accomplish this, she requires a minimum of foreign meddling and a maximum of peace and tranquillity.

There has been some unrest in the past few months in Guatemala. However, it is a good portent that though some older officers did attempt to revolt last September, none of them was executed as would have occurred in previous years. The president and his minister of finance, Mr. Torriello, have also differed over the taxation of foreign corporations, and the latter finally resigned from the cabinet. This, however, is a strictly personal affair.

Recently, Mr. Mackinnon was welcomed in Guatemala during his goodwill tour of Latin America. A trade commissioner had been appointed earlier, but in a temporary capacity only. Unfortunately, the appointee is an Englishman rather than a Canadian, and as the country has a dispute with Great Britain over the ownership of Belize or British Honduras, it is wise for Canada to remain strictly neutral.

Indeed, it would be well for private Canadians to voice Canada's traditional belief that colonies like Belize are an anachronism. For it happens that our only interference in Central American affairs was during the Bennett regime, when H.M.C.S. destroyers helped maintain the Salvadoran dictator Martinez in power. Canadians forgot this, but sadly enough that performance is the only criterion by which Central America can judge Canada.

## Film Review

*D. Mosdell*

► CHARLES JACKSON'S novel, *The Lost Week-End*, is the inside story of an alcoholic's three-day bat. It is told in the third person, but the effect is of a restless monologue by a patient making a tortured commentary on the progress of his disease. Through his bleared and faulty vision the reader sees other characters in the background: Wick, the drunk's brother, half-hated, half-loved, and wholly sentimentalized; a nameless fool of a psychiatrist who tried to cure him by argument and mental mumbo-jumbo; Helen, the girl he is engaged to, pretty much of a nuisance now with her affection and forbearance; and Bim, a hospital orderly, in whom he recognizes himself at an earlier stage of development, and repudiates with sick fascination.

As the story opens, however, Birnam the alcoholic has passed the stage when these people have any real relevance for him. Locked inescapably within the confines of his own mind, he is separated completely from everyone and everything except himself by a haze of liquor. His brain still functions, after a fashion, and the reader follows the pathetic and terrible course of his resolution and indecision with painful concentration. He has obviously read a good deal, and a good deal of what he has read is constantly being regurgitated, spattering his reveries with quotations from the better-known poets and, of course, Shakespeare. His emotions by now are real only when they concern liquor, the possibility of getting it, and the probability of being frustrated in the attempt. For the rest, they are largely self-conscious and literary. At one point, for instance, he attempts to steal a purse in a restaurant. He has no need of money, but he has read Dostoevsky, and evidently sees himself for the moment as Raskolnikoff, above common morality, committing the perfect crime. . . . Caught, he is Birnam again, sensitive, wronged, and off on another tangent.

From time to time he wonders why, as he says, he should have lost his way on the road from adolescence to adulthood; but no explanation is given or even necessary; the potential simply fails to become the actual—it could happen to anybody. No problems are solved in the book. The reader is left with a depressing picture of an impasse in individual experience, with, for Birnam, a narrowing vista of more and more little animals oozing out of the walls, accompanying and emphasizing the terror of non-communication, already well-advanced, and the loneliness of a second-rate mind artificially cut off from all normal external distractions and amusements.

It ought to have been possible to make a movie of the book without distorting or weakening the impact of the original too much. The easier way, considering the technical resources which Hollywood has, and misuses so constantly, would surely have been to preserve the illusion of interior action. Everything would be seen and heard from the point of view of the main character. As in *Murder, My Sweet*, the sets would be partly real, partly imaginary or symbolic; subordinate characters would fall into place proportionately, and the opportunities for unusual music and sound would be almost literally out of this world. Naturally the most effective scenes in the current Ray Milland vehicle occur when some attempt is made to do this (in the alcoholic ward and the delirium business). Contrariwise, the weakest scenes occur when, for example, we hear Birnam explaining to the other characters that failure at the writing game split his personality and broke his will, and have no clue to his real thoughts whatever.

Of course a really good dramatist could imply through external situation and dialogue a fairly complex set of interior situations; and would not find it necessary, as Hollywood did, to make Birnam's motive for stealing the purse in the restaurant a relatively simple matter of being flat broke. Over-simplification is a common Hollywood fault; in the case of *The Lost Week-End* it has a particularly disastrous effect.

It is true that in the book there was no mention of any cure being attempted under rigorous medical, as well as psychiatric, supervision; but because the story was so completely Birnam's own, this was almost irrelevant. In the picture, however, the subordinate characters increase in importance, and their responsibility increases in proportion. Consequently their failure to put him in an institution becomes a criminal liability and makes them look preposterously silly into the bargain. The shift of focus from internal to external causes reaches its peak in the ludicrous ending of the picture; it is perfectly clear to even the feeblest mind that a man who has reached the stage of seeing little animals is physically ill, and is not going to give up drinking simply by an exercise of will backed by the power of a good woman's love.

Incidentally, the *New Republic* complained in a review of the book that Birnam's sickness made tiresome reading ultimately, because there was no attempt to relate it to the sickness of his world. I wonder if that reviewer saw and heard the epilogue at the very end of the picture, which tried to do precisely that. . . . If so, it should be a lesson to the *New Republic* as well as to Hollywood not to try to make a silk purse out of a case history.

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## BOOKS OF THE MONTH

RIVAL PARTNERS: Keith Hutchison; Macmillan; pp. ix, 262; \$2.50.

Mr. Hutchison is one of the editors of the *New York Nation*. Born and educated in England, he worked for Clement Attlee and the Labor movement before coming to the United States in 1925. His book is a very illuminating analysis of the economic relations of Britain and the United States. Perhaps his general attitude can be guessed in advance from the fact that when he is illustrating British opinion he seems usually to quote from the *Economist*, whereas the *Wall Street Journal* supplies him with most of his quotations from the United States. One can only hope that British policy will turn out to be as intelligent as are the editorials of the *Economist*, since there seems little doubt that dominant American opinion is at about the level of the *Wall Street Journal*.

Mr. Hutchison discusses first the prospects of the American economy with its enormous war-expanded productive capacity and the marked aversion of American business men to "planning," both of which factors tend to drive the United States into a campaign for export markets. He then turns to the British situation, with an economy badly damaged by war, with a continuous lack of foodstuffs and raw materials which compels her to import on a large scale and so also to "export or die." He goes on to discuss the fields in which British and Americans as rival traders are most likely to clash, such as shipping and aviation, he deals with "raw deals in raw materials," and traces "the path through Bretton Woods." All through his analysis he keeps coming back to the question of full employment, "the magnetic north of the economic globe." Evidently he shares the opinion of most Englishmen that the chief economic danger facing the world is that the United States, refusing to adopt a policy of full employment at home, will plunge into the old pre-war spiral of inflation and depression, and will thereby produce repercussions in the outer world from which Britain will not be able to insulate herself. Anglo-American rivalry will be ruinous, but so may be a British policy of close co-operation with the United States which may mean "hitching the British wagon to the American shooting star without any guarantee that this star will follow a steady course." "The index of American production," he says, "will serve the world as a prosperity barometer. As long as it remains high, American capacity to consume and lend will keep trade flowing in adequate volume. But if the level of production here falls, foreign countries will expect stormy weather."

He is not too optimistic that the "rival partners" will overcome the causes of friction. But he confines himself wholly to economic issues. Perhaps Russian pressure, compelling them to adopt common or at least parallel political policies, will make it easier for them to adjust their economic differences.

*Frank H. Underhill.*

PATTERNS OF CULTURE: Ruth Benedict; Penguin (P2, Pelican Books); pp. 272; 25c (U.S.A.).

The reprinting of Ruth Benedict's *Patterns of Culture* (1934) in a paper covered Pelican edition reminds us once more how little time-binding we do, how little of the living thought we produce is applied immediately to our culture. But human consciousness, like nature, is prolific and extravagant, and so we produce great harvests of original and creative thinking in our age, and enough of it permeates our social thinking, bit by bit, here and there, to ultimately revise our traditions and re-orient our ideals. But the truth

is that we have been exposed to so much vital and original thinking in the last few decades that we are almost blunted to the impact of new books and papers, no matter how significant, and so only a small part of the available thought is applied to our problems. Some one has said that men become great in the degree in which they are employed by those who come after them.

Dr. Benedict's *Patterns of Culture* gives us a psychological study of three differing types of society: the Zuni of New Mexico, restrained, gentle, ritualistic; the Kwakiutl of Vancouver Island, emotional, ecstatically religious, property-conscious; and the Dobu of the Southern Pacific. One impression that arises vividly from a reading of these studies is the effect of a social ideal on the intimate lives of every individual citizen in that society, and also the terrible effects of the unquestioned acceptance of a social tradition. No matter how fine that social tradition may have been in its origin, when it becomes an automatic control over generations of living beings, it becomes evil. It enforces a static condition on life which is by nature dynamic. Authoritarianism, whether social, political, religious or economic, is authoritarianism, with all its devitalizing and crippling effects on human nature. It is in the study of the Dobu, however, that the full horror of the oppressive power of social tradition makes its impact. This is a macabre tale. Here is a society reverencing and perpetuating the most horrid of all human characteristics, deceit, distrust, disloyalty, cruelty, hostility, suspicion and black magic. Because this tradition is so obviously destructive, it highlights the whole problem. We can become easily beglamored by the perpetuation of a social tradition that seems pleasant or romantic, without realizing that its de-humanizing effects are just as serious.

Yet under each of these social patterns lies a structure of consciousness which requires understanding. It is a structure which can be used to function destructively as with the Dobu, or be deliberately oriented to constructive ends. Thomas Davidson taught that our culture was the vehicle of the transmission of acquired characteristics; in other words that it was the vehicle of the evolution of the purely human element. What is human about us is not our physical structure which we share with the higher animals, but our creativity, our ability to reflect, evaluate and act deliberately. These abilities are not physical properties but are properties of consciousness. Since man created language for communication (a non-transmissible characteristic), it has served not merely for the horizontal exchange of thoughts and ideas among contemporaries, but for the perpendicular communication of ideas through generations and centuries of time. That transmission creates tradition. Whatever changes are to take place in society must take place first of all in this body of consciousness. The Dobu people could become socially the equivalent of the Zuni, if their social consciousness was re-oriented to ideas similar to those of the Zuni.

The means we have at hand for the re-orienting of social ideas is the creativity in man, and that creativity is the law of evolution at work in the human mind. A culture or a social tradition that ceases to evolve is no longer responding to the basic law of the universe.

The factor of creativity has not yet come into its own as a subject of study. The arts have nourished the concept of creativity as the means of self-expression, and we have come to recognize in some degree that there are creative sciences. Dr. Oliver L. Reiser of Pittsburgh University, an exponent of scientific humanism, now advances the idea of creative morality; while Dr. H. N. Wieman of the University of Chicago has a plan for the integration of educational objectives by making the subject of creativity integral to a general university course. He proposes creativity as the factor com-

mon to all religions on the ground that at the core of every great religion is the concept of man as a creative being reflecting and embodying ultimate realities in society. Thus creativity might be agreed upon as a means of supplementing scientific education with a study of the spiritual functions of man as creator. Creativity would be regarded, when made a subject of academic study, as the means by which (1) our traditions would be examined, (2) viable elements would be emphasized and outworn elements discarded, (3) the tradition would be revised. This would elevate the natural creativity of man to a place of primary importance in the social scheme and would regard tradition as a constantly evolving body of useful concepts. Then instead of the innovator being regarded as subversive until he was dead and famous, he would be accepted as the natural product of education.

The stark realism of the effects of unrevised social tradition in *Patterns of Culture* makes one wonder how far our so-called modern and progressive societies are being crippled by idolatry of established tradition. No tradition is sacred. The sacredness lies not in preserving what men in times past created, but in the fact that man possesses the function by which he can constantly recreate tradition. Dr. Benedict is one of our great contemporary creators. There may be some significance in the fact that she was a poet before she was an anthropologist.

*Blodwen Davies.*

#### SCIENCE AND SCIENTISTS IN THE NETHERLANDS INDIES: Pieter Honig and Frans Verdoorn, editors; Board for the Netherlands Indies, Surinam and Curacao (New York City); pp. 491; \$4.00 (U.S.A.).

"Only modern research can answer today's demand for a higher level of material well-being, for 'freedom from want,' that now basic governmental principle in every country where living standards are diverse," state the editors in their foreword to *Science and Scientists in the Netherlands Indies*.

This excellent book is made up of articles, original or reprinted, by some seventy-five authors on a wide variety of topics related to the growth of science in the Netherlands Indies. The earliest of these is an excerpt from *The Malay Archipelago* by Alfred Russel Wallace, published in 1869, and the most recent a collection of notes on the work of such bodies as UNRRA, the Central Depository Library for the Netherlands in New York City and the Institute of Pacific Relations. There are articles on the history of rubber production, cinchona cultivation and the chemistry of tea as well as upon botanical gardens and a discussion of paleontological research since Dubois' discovery of *Pithecanthropus erectus*. Several travel accounts and impressions by distinguished visitors broaden the scope of the work from a purely technical field and convey something of the color and charm of the islands. A short sketch is given of the seventeenth century botanist, Rumphius, a government official for whom scientific books were "to serve as a compass and a support in this Indies wilderness." Much of the research work in recent years has been fostered by economic interests.

"Especially during the decade immediately preceding the catastrophe of 1942," writes H. Stauffer, in his article on geology, "the oil industry employed many field geologists for surface mapping; paleontologists for fossil determination in connection with proving the age of the strata encountered; geophysicists to direct seismic, gravity and other geophysical exploration on the vast alluvial plains . . . aeroplane-survey companies with their staffs for aerial photography of unmapped jungle areas and subsequent detailed photographic interpretation of the pictures; and, finally, shallow drilling campaigns to locate faults or anticlines by means of fossil or electric-log correlations."

The colonial question is discussed briefly in "Diversity and Unity in Southeast Asia," by Jan O. M. Broek, who stresses the unreality of political planning that does not take into consideration local problems of a social and economic nature in a region peopled by many races of divergent cultures, speaking 25 different languages and 250 dialects.

This book will appeal especially to the scientific worker who intends to visit the Far East but it will also be a valued possession of the interested layman, because of its wealth of information and the thoroughness and care with which it has been prepared and edited. It is well printed and generously illustrated by early prints, photographs, maps and vignettes. A supplement gives an impressive list of the scientific institutions, societies and research workers in the Netherlands Indies.

*Alan Creighton.*

#### THE PECKHAM EXPERIMENT: Innes H. Pearce and Lucy H. Crocker; Nelson (George Allen & Unwin); \$1.75 (paper).

In the Peckham district of London, a community centre has been set up whose pioneer activities in this field may well establish the basis for all further projects of this type. The centre is fashioned on the lines of a Family Club and offers a periodic health overhaul for all members. From the time of admission everything is made available to help build each member up to the peak of his or her potentialities. The functionally designed building has a swimming pool, gymnasium, cafeteria and plenty of space for dancing and games of all sorts; a place where at all times any member can drop in alone for an hour, or foregather for a party with equal ease and suitability—not a lounge for casual contacts, but rather an arena for the unfolding of the consecutive and integrated leisure activity of families.

Throughout this book, *The Peckham Experiment*, the emphasis is placed not on the individual, but the family unit,

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and the pattern is traced from the young, shy, newly married couple through their gradually broadening horizon, birth of their child, and participation in the various groups within the centre. During her pregnancy the young wife is impressed with the idea that she is not a "patient" but a normally functioning woman. The biologists at the centre are working with the goal of having the mother deliver her child normally without the use of anaesthetics, and returning to her home after forty-eight hours. According to the figures given, there have been very few in sufficiently good health to achieve this. In this generation we have been educated to the dulling of hypo and sweet oblivion of ether during childbirth, to the point where some women actually feel cheated if the child is born before the doctor has had time to administer an anaesthetic. The progressive development of the baby is followed through its bottle weaning and "skirt" weaning—this last step so often hardest on the mother when she is nervous about letting the child out of her sight. Once she sees the happy youngster fitting into the nursery play, she can go contentedly into her own recreation—perhaps a swim or a "keep fit" exercise group.

A noteworthy feature is that all activities are within view—the pool and gym being glass enclosed—thus making it an easy step from the timid spectator to the eager participant. Instead of professional instructors, the leaders have risen naturally within each group. It was found that a professional standard, when set up, was difficult to sustain, and interest waned; but a leader chosen because he was the best of his group spurred the members to greater achievement. The knowledge, experience, and skill acquired in the rich social milieu of the centre, and inextricably woven into every action, provides a framework for a social education in which the members can go forward to full self-realization.

There is a growing awareness of the need for Community Centres in Canada. Here then is an actual proven working model worthy of study. For all interested in these community projects, this book is a "must."

*Mary Chalmers Henderson.*

#### SOME POLITICAL CONSEQUENCES OF THE ATOMIC BOMB: E. L. Woodward; Oxford; pp. 26; 25c.

The mass of verbiage with which we have been overwhelmed on the subject of the atomic bomb has probably by this time had the result of deadening the public consciousness to any real comprehension of the urgency of the issues created by the new invention. This pamphlet by the professor of international relations at Oxford should be classed among the really notable writings on the subject. I have room to quote only one section which is of special interest to socialists and liberals: "Whether it remains for years to come only a potential source of destruction or whether it can be turned to peaceful ends, this new source of peaceful energy must remain under State control and therefore must increase enormously the power of the State over the citizen. Hitherto, a great increase in State power has rarely made for liberty of any kind. This fact is perhaps blurred today. For large masses of the population much of the content of political liberty in the past has been theoretical only, since in fact they have been under economic constraints and fears which have prevented the enjoyment of freedom in a large sense. Hence for the average man an increase in State power has actually meant an increase in liberty and has brought with it a sense of emancipation. If past history is of any guidance, this interim stage is unlikely to last very long. . . . The question is of greater significance now because every new instrument of force under State control lessens the chances of successful revolution—the last safeguard against a perpetual tyranny. . . . We might do well to think over this matter and

to ask ourselves what domestic safeguards, if any, may be available to us against the misuse of this tremendous concentration of power henceforward in the hands of the State."

F.H.U.

#### SPIRIT OF CANADIAN DEMOCRACY: A Collection of Canadian Writings; selected by Margaret Fairley; Progress Books; pp. 319; \$3.00.

This collection has many interesting and some inspiring extracts from Canadian writings from the days of Brebeuf to the present. But it does give the general impression that we Canadians on the whole have lacked a capacity for expressing ourselves in any very original way. The extracts chosen from the beginning down to 1930 take up 135 pages, and those taken from the last fifteen years take up 129 pages. What does this prove? The proverbial visitor from China would remark that in the second (contemporary) section the Canadian communists and fellow-travellers, who form a very small proportion of the total population, seem to have succeeded in expressing themselves about democracy with much greater relative frequency than the rest of their fellow citizens. But what is that sinister character, that appeaser, that pro-fascist, that disturber of international peace, Mr. Mackenzie King, doing in this honorable company? He appears more than once. Surely a re-editing of this volume is needed at once to bring it into accord with the current party line.

A.C.B.

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*poems by*

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*John Frederick Nime, in Poetry (Chicago)*

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THIS IS THE PEACE: edited by Violet Anderson; Ryerson; pp. 118; \$1.25.

In this volume are collected some of the outstanding addresses given at the conference of the Canadian Institute of Public Affairs at Lake Couchiching last summer. As usual the addresses cover a wide range of topics. One of the most interesting is by Professor Goodwin Watson of Teachers College on the psychological complexes which make for international war. The analyses of international problems, however, contain material that is fairly familiar to students who have any acquaintance with the subject. At the end of the volume are two lectures, by Professor J. A. Corry of Queen's and Professor Harry M. Cassidy of Toronto, which strike out new ground. They are both on domestic problems, on the question of the relationship of the federal and provincial governments under a regime of government spending to ensure full employment and to provide an enlarged measure of social security. Both these authorities reach the conclusion that the proposals in the Dominion White Paper on Employment and Income and in the Dominion scheme submitted to the provinces in their recent conferences present a new situation in which our old preoccupation with amendment of the B.N.A. Act need no longer worry us. Their acute discussion of these proposals throws a great deal of new light on constitutional issues and makes this volume essential reading for all who are interested in the social services and in Dominion-Provincial relations.

F.H.U.

WINGS OVER AMERICA: John Stuart; Public Affairs Pamphlet No. 114; pp. 31; 15c.

This pamphlet provides a balanced and informative survey of the problems and potentialities of the future in the air, written by an aviation reporter of the *New York Times*. First, the use of air power in World War II is assessed. The second part is devoted to Merchant Aircraft—passenger travel (four million annual passages to Europe), air freight, mail carriage, limited need for craft (a world-wide fleet of 5,300), and international regulation of air transport. Finally, the basis for personal aircraft growth is reviewed. A useful introduction to the subject.

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